The Outlook

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The Outlook

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 4, 1905

Civil Liberty Proclaimed in Russia

The last absolute monarchy among civilized nations has disappeared. Revolution in Russia has ended the three-century autocratic rule of the Czars. The vacillating Nicholas II. has been compelled to yield to the demand for liberty. "Unprecedented troubles"—to quote his phrase—finally forced him on Monday of this week to issue a mandate converting the Duma, proposed as a purely advisory body, into a real legislative body, elected by a greatly extended suffrage, and conferring upon the people certain fundamental civil liberties. On Tuesday the text of the mandate was telegraphed throughout the world. The title "Autocrat of All the Russias" now sounds strangely, and the use of the phrase "to carry out our inflexible will" may have appealed even to the vacillating Czar's sense of humor. But the text itself is not distinguished by the vagueness and verbosity of previous Imperial ukases. It reads as follows:

We, Nicholas the Second, by the Grace of God Emperor and Autocrat of All the Russias, Grand Duke of Finland, etc., declare to all our faithful subjects that the troubles and agitation in our capitals and in numerous other places fill our heart with excessive pain and sorrow.

The happiness of the Russian sovereign is indissolubly bound up with the happiness of our people, and the sorrow of our people is the sorrow of the sovereign.

From the present disorders may arise great national disruption. They menace the integrity and unity of our Empire.

The supreme duty imposed upon us by our sovereign office requires us to efface ourself and to use all the force and reason at our command to hasten in securing the unity and co-ordination of the power of the central Government, and to assure the success of measures for pacification in all circles of public life, which are essential to the well-being of our people.

We, therefore, direct our Government to carry out our inflexible will in the following manner:

First—To extend to the population the immutable foundations of civic liberty, based on the real inviolability of person, freedom of conscience, speech, union, and association.

Second—Without suspending the already ordered elections to the State Duma, to invite to participation in the Duma, so far as the limited time before the convocation of the Duma will permit, those classes of the population now completely deprived of electoral rights, leaving the ultimate development of the principle of the electoral right in general to the newly established legislative order of things.

Third—To establish as an unchangeable rule that no law shall be enforceable without the approval of the State Duma, and that it shall be possible for the elected of the people to exercise real participation in the supervision of the legality of the acts of the authorities appointed by us.

We appeal to all faithful sons of Russia to remember their duty toward the Fatherland, to aid in terminating these unprecedented troubles, and to apply all their forces in co-operation with us to the restoration of calm and peace upon our natal soil.

Given at Peterhof, October 30, in the eleventh year of our reign. NICHOLAS.

Coincidently, the Czar appointed Count Witte Minister-President. Some hours later the new Premier showed his regard for America by telegraphing the following message to New York:

I am sure the American people, who understand what freedom is, and the American press, which voices the wishes of the people, will rejoice with the friendly Russian nation at this moment, when the Russian people have received from his Imperial Majesty the promises and the guarantees of freedom, and will join in the hope that the Russian people will wisely aid in the realization of these liberties by co-operating with the Government for their peaceful introduction. Only thus will it be possible to secure the full benefits of the freedom conferred upon the people.

After thus definitely yielding to the popular revolution of last week it is to be hoped that the Czar will not exhibit further vacillation and revoke his mandate at the behest of a possible counter-revolution of the reactionaries within and without the Imperial palaces and Government offices. But no reaction can again make Russia what it was.

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Russia on Strike

The various labor strikes and disorders in Russia week before last had become a general strike last week, and the strike was nominally industrial. Its chief factor was the railway employee element. Last spring promises of increased remuneration were made to the four hundred thousand railway employees: their average wage is a hundred and forty dollars a year. The promises were not kept. This was not the fault of Prince Khilkov, Minister of Railways, but of the Minister of Finance, who held the purse-strings. The result was a railway tie-up last week all over Russia, isolating the capital from the rest of Europe except by steamer and the telegraph. With the stoppage of the railways, the authorities were practically powerless to move troops, and, by reason of sympathetic strikes everywhere—even bank and office employees and those of water and gas works joining in the movement—Russian industrial and commercial life came to a standstill. The towns and cities were face to face not only with a bread, meat, oil, gas, and coal famine; they were threatened with a reign of terror. In Moscow the Strike Committee throughout the week paid fifteen cents a day to each striker, and invested large sums in arms and ammunition, the financial aid being largely supplied by Socialists and revolutionists abroad and by secret sympathizers and by students at home. At Kharkov the death of a student from wounds inflicted by a patrol led to a fight between students and the troops; fifteen students were killed and many wounded. A state of siege was proclaimed. Similar student demonstrations had been planned for St. Petersburg, Moscow, Warsaw, and Odessa. In the first three places they were, to a considerable extent, frustrated by the wise foresight of the authorities. At Odessa, however, a scene of carnage somewhat similar to that at Kharkov was enacted, having as an additional incitement the supposed mutiny of the sailors on board the war vessels in the harbor. In all the larger Russian cities the Government had posted warnings on the street corners that in case of disorder the soldiers would fire ball cartridges without any preliminary firing of blank cartridges. Small squads of soldiers were scattered along the streets and in the markets to preserve order. Even detachments from the crack regiments did patrol duty.

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The Strike's Political Significance

The strike was, of course, not so much industrial as political. It was a protest against political wrong. Like all other strikes in Russia, its immediate motive might be industrial, but its ultimate motive was to end the autocracy. Instead of the methods hitherto used, the strikers said, in effect: "We will starve and freeze you and ourselves and deprive all Russia of light and transport if you persist in denying us the fundamental rights of political civilization." A plan for an advisory, not a really legislative, body, the Duma, had been promulgated. The industrial elements of the population ignored in this plan were taking revenge. It is significant of the craving for liberty in Russia that the labor agitators had little difficulty in persuading all classes of workmen to join in anti-Government demonstrations. The professional unions as well, comprising pharmacists, doctors, and lawyers, decided to strike until a Constituent Assembly shall be summoned. With this demand a deputation of strikers conferred with Count Witte—may he achieve in Russia what Necker, under similar circumstances, failed to achieve in France! Furthermore, the demand was for an Assembly elected by universal suffrage. In his reply to the strikers Count Witte is reported to have opposed universal suffrage, but to have promised freedom of speech, meeting, and the press. The delegates were not won by these promises, however, especially when they discovered that the right of meeting, for instance, was limited by several days' notice to the police of the meeting's object, together with the names of all the speakers; then, if permission were granted, the police would be empowered to close the meeting in case of the utterance of opinions supposed to threaten public order. The delegates retired, determined to continue the struggle, though

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they knew that they were fighting with a two-edged sword, that the frenzied populations of the starved cities of Russia might in their hunger and panic suddenly turn upon them. Furthermore, despite alarming agrarian outbreaks in the provinces of Samara and Saratov, there was comparatively little indication that the disturbances had involved the peasants. Without peasant support any revolutionary movement stands little chance of permanent success. The rallying of the peasants, however, seemed but a question of time. The revolutionaries knew that they could count upon ultimate agrarian and army support to back the movement started by the industrials. The question now is, Will the Imperial proclamation win the majority of the revolutionaries to the support of the new Government? It will, if we may trust its indication in the amazement and joy with which on Monday the proclamation was received by all classes, except the Socialists and Extreme Radicals, together with the partial resumption of work on Tuesday. The great, steadying class of moderates—the strength of every nation—unites in the St. Petersburg Municipal Council's despatch to the Czar: "The Council welcomes with delight the long desired tidings of freedom, firmly relying on a bright future for our dear Fatherland. Hurrah for the Emperor of a free people!" Even toward their late oppressors the strikers are showing a fine temper. After the proclamation of the mandate the St. Petersburgers surrounded the Cossacks, shouting, "You can go home now. We no longer need you. We have liberty."

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Honor to Japan's Sailors

Hardly had London finished commemorating Nelson and Trafalgar, when Tokyo was honoring Togo and the Battle of the Sea of Japan. Whatever difference of opinion may exist in Japan as to the terms of peace, none can be found as to the superb skill and efficiency of the naval achievements of Admiral Togo and his men. The official reception by the Mikado; the public procession through streets adorned and decorated as only Japanese could do it; the religious ceremony in which thirty thousand sailors returned thanks for divine protection and revered their dead comrades; the enthusiasm of the crowds which filled Admiral Togo's carriage with flowers and cheered wildly whenever he appeared; the review of the combined fleets in Tokyo Bay, when the cruiser Asama, with the Emperor of Japan on board and flying his ensign (the gold chrysanthemum on a crimson ground), passed slowly through three double lines of war-ships—one hundred and seventy in all, big and little—these things were the visible symbols of a well-founded patriotic pride. If we consider that when Trafalgar was fought in 1805 Japan had just a half-century to pass before she knew anything of Western civilization, Togo seems as great a product of national courage and skill as was Nelson. His tactics, too, in the battle which crushed Russia's naval power finally, so far as regards the war with Japan just ended, were not unlike Nelson's at Trafalgar, and his record is even freer from strategical blunders. As to the watchfulness and constant readiness of Togo's fleet, it is enough to quote the fact, made public for the first time last week, that Admiral Togo did not anchor once in five months, from the time of the naval battle of August 10, 1904, till the Russian battle-ship Sevastopol was torpedoed in the last days of December. Although she lost two battle-ships, Japan actually ended the war with four more battle-ships than she had at the beginning. Her navy's power and courage in battle have been supplemented by the extraordinary mechanical skill of the engineers who have raised and will make effective four Russian battle-ships and four cruisers. Some of these lay fifty feet under water, and had been deliberately wrecked by dynamite by the Russians, but Japanese persistence conquered, and one or more of these ships were seen in Tokyo Bay at the grand review of last week, now renamed and ready to fight for Japan. The "Scientific American" well declares that the Japanese achievement in raising Russian ships "is one of the most astonishing feats of the many astonishing things done during the late war."

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The President's Trip Through the South

With a tumultuous greeting in New Orleans and a steamboat collision on the Mississippi, the President's tour through the South, which grew into a peaceful march of triumph, came last week to a dramatic conclusion. Few acts could so appeal at once to State pride and National patriotism as this visit of the President of the United States to the fever-stricken city which has so bravely and intelligently combated its foe. It is not surprising, therefore, that throngs crowded into the city, that streets were decorated almost after the fashion of carnival time, and that the acclaim accorded to the President was like that with which a National hero is welcomed. The event is to the honor equally of New Orleans and of Mr. Roosevelt. It must have given every citizen of New Orleans a special satisfaction to hear the President congratulate the city on its practical elimination of yellow fever before the frost and promise the State that Dr. White, of the Marine Hospital Service, who had been in charge, should be detailed to that work as long as his services were needed. The President's trip which thus ended began on October 18 at Richmond, Virginia. As we have already reported, he there gave utterance to that feeling of reunion which has been growing in the North as well as in the South. On the second day he chose Raleigh, the capital of North Carolina, for his speech on the regulation of railway rates. In Atlanta, eminent in the South as a city of great commercial prosperity and an industrial center which is, more than any other city, representative of the New South, he argued for the control of corporate wealth. An incident of his itinerary in Georgia was his visit to his mother's home at Roswell; and there he took occasion to express his pride in the fact that half of his blood is Southern blood, and that the traditions which he had from his mother were traditions of the South. Turning southeast, he went to Florida, and, as he touched the Gulf, enunciated certain principles by which he would be guided in carrying on the work of the Panama Canal. At Tuskegee he summoned the negroes of the South to the same duties and recommended to them the same virtues that it has been his wont to exalt everywhere, especially setting forth the value of education as a means of increasing the usefulness of the citizen. Hurrying through other places in Alabama, he went to Little Rock, Arkansas. There Governor Davis gave him the opportunity of speaking some ringing words against lynching. The Governor brought the rebuke on himself; but he rendered a good service by putting before the President the chance of expressing what is not only the sentiment of the Nation as a whole, but especially of the best and most representative people of the South. With his visit to New Orleans his journey ended. By his frank exposition, not of party policies, but of fundamental principles on which all Americans can unite, the President has roused an allegiance in the South that is characteristically warm and genuine. A year ago The Outlook ventured to say: "We make the prediction that before he leaves the White House the South will learn that it never had a warmer or more consistent friend in the Presidential chair than Theodore Roosevelt." It seems as if that prediction had already been fulfilled.

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Secretary Taft on Political Independence

Secretary Taft made a speech in his own State—Ohio—last week which had a ring, not only of manly independence, but of statesmanship in it; for the statesman is the man who follows the interests of the country wherever they take him, and the wise politician does not lag far behind the statesman in this higher kind of loyalty. When the President announced last week in one of his Southern speeches that he intended to be harder on Republican rascals than on Democratic rascals, he took a position which combined sound statesmanship and sound politics as well. There is a political campaign of a very complicated character being fought in Ohio. Among many obscurities and complexities, one feature of this campaign stands out with great clearness, and that is the character of the political management of Mr. Cox, the Republican boss of Cincinnati; a man who belongs, by reason of his methods

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and political ideas, with Mr. Platt, Mr. Murphy, Senator Penrose, and other politicians of the same type. The very prominent and important position which Secretary Taft holds, the fact that he is a promising candidate for the Republican nomination for the Presidency, and that every word that he says and every action he takes which allies him in any way with the politically heterodox arouses the antagonism of powerful political cliques, did not deter him from announcing in Ohio last week that in his opinion the Republican State ticket ought to be elected, but that if he were to be at home on election day he would vote against the Republican local ticket in Hamilton County. This frank statement of a frank and honest man's position has carried consternation into the hearts of many regular Republicans in Ohio who feel that the party is sacred and that even the blackest machine gains a certain glow if it bears the name Republican. Secretary Taft strikes straight across this kind of political Phariseeism, refuses to be bound by a traditional loyalty which has been the bane of American politics, and lends his great influence, not only to the defeat of a bad man, but to the cause of pure government. It is not surprising that a member of President Roosevelt's Cabinet should take this position; but it has nevertheless filled the minds of the machine politicians with grave apprehension.

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The Jerome Campaign

Nothing more picturesque and inspiriting has occurred in the political history of New York City than the battle which Mr. Jerome is waging against the party bosses. The three-cornered contest between Mr. McClellan, Mr. Ivins, and Mr. Hearst for the office of Mayor has changed within three weeks from perfunctory maneuvers to keen and bitter fighting. Nevertheless, Mr. Jerome, tilting alone against all parties, a knightly figure making thrust upon thrust at all enemies in all uniforms, has been growing daily more conspicuous in the midst of the confusion. The Republican party has tardily attempted to make amends for its stupidity in nominating a candidate for District Attorney in New York County against Mr. Jerome. Mr. Flammer, the Republican nominee, has frankly withdrawn and has urged his supporters to transfer their allegiance to Mr. Jerome. The Republican Convention has been reassembled, has nominated Mr. Jerome in Mr. Flammer's place, and has appealed to the court to allow the change to be recorded on the ballot. This procedure has not in the least lessened the vigor of Mr. Jerome's blows upon the heads of Republican as well as Democratic bosses. No incident could more clearly demonstrate how insecure a party boss is, if only the people knew it. To Mr. Jerome is also paid the flattery of vigorous opposition. The Tammany candidate, Mr. Osborne, who was for a time Mr. Jerome's assistant in the District Attorney's office, has been appealing to prejudice and ignorance to defeat Mr. Jerome. His assertions (they cannot be called arguments) answer themselves, and appear to be helping rather than hindering Mr. Jerome's candidacy. But the fact that a machine nominee thinks it necessary to spend his strength in fighting an independent candidate is significant of the real weakness of the boss when he encounters a man who is fearlessly and aggressively honest. Tammany Hall is giving evidence that it is in mortal fear of the District Attorney. It has succeeded in keeping the "Jerome nominators" from finding headquarters in at least one Assembly district in the county. But in that instance Tammany has been circumvented by the establishment of Jerome headquarters in a wagon. As four years ago, so this year Mr. Jerome has but one message. Then it was a summons for the people of New York to come to the succor of the poor who could not, unaided, withstand the encroachment of vice; now it is a summons to the people to come and claim their own rights and to regain the liberty which the bosses have wrested from them. He has frankly and squarely met all criticisms of his office and charges against him; but invariably he reverts to his theme, independence of the boss. On Sunday of this week the unusual spectacle was presented of a candidate for office speaking from the pulpit of a church at its morning service. As it

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was said in the report of the meeting appearing in a Hearst newspaper, it was "a gathering of sober-minded men and women . . . to take counsel with their consciences as to their duty on election day." The report continues: "When Mr. Jerome arose, the impressive scene was presented of a church congregation, forbidden by the sacredness of the edifice in which they had gathered to applaud, rising *en masse* and standing with bowed heads, Mr. Jerome bowing his head also, while the reverent engaged in silent prayer. It was after an interval of three minutes that the District Attorney began his address." It is doubtful whether ever in any campaign brilliance and dash mingled thus with earnestness and solemnity. The people of New York County seem to realize that they have one supreme moral issue before them, an issue which is tersely named Jerome.

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The City Campaign in New York

In contrast to the campaign carried on by Mr. Jerome, the campaign conducted by the various mayoralty candidates is one of turmoil and confusion. The municipal issues have been partly lost sight of in the conflict between the forces respectively of Mr. McClellan and Mr. Hearst. Tammany Hall, which two weeks ago felt that it was only necessary to go through the motions of a campaign, has evidently been astounded by the strength of the Hearst movement. The Hearst newspapers, which have an enormous circulation, have been turned into Hearst campaign documents. They have with considerable ability furnished the average intelligent but uneducated man with effective arguments, in clear form, on behalf of municipal ownership and operation; but they have also appealed to the covetousness of the poor by promising, in case of their candidate's election, various kinds of benefits which may be had for little or nothing. To counteract these appeals, Tammany Hall has entered upon a campaign against—who would believe it?—yellow journalism. Denunciations of anarchy, mingled with eulogies of President McKinley, alternate with arguments in behalf of "safe" municipal ownership and commendatory allusions to Mr. McClellan's administration. In the meantime Mr. Ivins, the Republican nominee, has been conducting a pretty effective examination through public speeches into Mayor McClellan's administration and into the campaign declarations of Mr. McClellan himself. He has shown pretty conclusively that whatever advance in municipal ownership and operation of utilities has been made under the McClellan administration is not due to Tammany efficiency. The municipal ferry, for instance, was practically completed, except for the mere building of new boats, under the Low administration; and the municipal lighting plant has been adopted as a compliance with public opinion aroused by the inefficiency and extravagance (to use no stronger word) of Mayor McClellan's own Commissioner of Water Supply, Gas, and Electricity. Of his opponent Mr. Ivins says: "I have no more doubt of Mayor McClellan's impeccable honesty than I have that by education and every quality he is a gentleman. But he lends those qualities to the worst organization of plunderers America has ever known. He is a façade to the great temple of iniquity." This estimate is reinforced by a glance at the names of Mr. McClellan's associates. Scarcely one of them is worthy of the office for which he is nominated. In particular, the Tammany nominee for the Presidency of the Borough of Brooklyn has become the center of a popular storm of indignation. A most important fact, which has been largely forgotten in the attention concentrated upon the picturesque personality of Mr. Jerome and the unconventional features of the three-cornered mayoralty contest, is that the Board of Estimate and Apportionment which is to be elected in November will have control of all the franchises in the city. In this Board the Mayor, Comptroller, and President of the Board of Aldermen cast three votes each; the Presidents of the two larger boroughs cast two votes each; and the three other Borough Presidents cast one vote each. It is very evident that, even with the best intentions in the world, Mayor McClellan could not stand out against a Tammany

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Board in any scheme it might adopt for the disposal of franchises. The habit of voting a straight ticket in the past has been so strong that the Tammany boss evidently expected that Mr. McClellan's respectability would carry the whole ticket through; but it is not probable that he expected any such spirit of independence as that which the campaign has already developed. We state in another column our interpretation of the issue presented by the coming city election.

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Constitutional Amendments in New York: Labor

In the approaching election in New York State the electors are to vote upon two amendments to the Constitution which are of considerable importance, and both of them of more than merely State interest. One of these amendments gives the Legislature power to

> regulate and fix the wages or salaries, the hours of work or labor, and make provision for the protection, welfare, and safety of persons employed by the State, or by any county, city, town, village, or other civil division of the State, by any contractor or sub-contractor, performing work, labor, or services for the State or for any county, city, town, village, or other civil division thereof.

This amendment is due to decisions of the courts that under the present Constitution the Legislature has no such power. The careful reader will observe that this is a *limited* power. It authorizes the Legislature to regulate wages, salaries, and hours only of persons employed by or for the State or a local community acting under authority conferred by the State. This amendment, therefore, can hardly be criticised on the ground that it interferes with liberty of contract. It confers liberty of contract. It allows the State a liberty, which it does not now possess, to fix the hours, wages, and conditions of labor in contracting with employees who are working for the State. Those who constitutionally distrust the Legislature and desire to tie its hands, because they distrust the people, will vote against this amendment. Those who, with The Outlook, desire to enlarge rather than to limit the powers of the people acting through their constituted representatives, and to limit them only in so far as is necessary to protect individual rights, will vote for this amendment. With the constantly increasing amount of work which the State is undertaking to do, either directly or through contractors, this seems to us a wise provision. It recognizes in the people a liberty of contract which they ought to possess.

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Constitutional Amendments in New York: Good Roads

The other amendment referred to is that relating to the improvement of highways. A debt of the State is to be authorized by law for such improvement, according to the amendment; the highways are to be determined under general laws, which shall also provide for the equitable apportionment of the highways among the counties. The amendment provides for the purpose of highway improvement a sum not to exceed $50,000,000. The payment of the annual interest on such debt and the creation of a sinking fund of at least two per cent. a year to discharge the principal at maturity is also provided for. The Legislature may require the county or town, or both, to pay to the sinking fund the proportionate part of the cost of any State highway within the boundaries of a county or town and their proportionate part of the interest, no county being required to pay more than thirty-five per cent. of the cost of the highways, and no town more than fifteen per cent. In case the amendment is carried at the election it is proposed to secure a part of the proposed bond issue for the purpose of eliminating grade crossings, on the ground that improvement of the highways will stimulate travel of all sorts upon them, and to that extent increase the danger of grade crossings. This is a question which the Legislature and the Governor must determine. At first the grade-crossing proposal seems like an attempt to divert public money to the improvement of private property—that is to say, the railways. But the setting aside of one-tenth of the total bond issue to be used in connection with the town and railway money would result in eliminating nearly all the dangerous railway crossings in the State,

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and this may fairly be called a public work. But if any part of the issue is to be so applied, this part should be specifically stated in a statute, so that the amounts to be expended in the elimination of the crossings would be limited to that purpose alone; and the statute should also specifically determine the amount to be expended by the railways—an amount which should be made compulsory. Under these circumstances the expenditure of a large sum of money by the people of New York State for the improvement of their highways is amply justified, and should be an incentive to like action on the part of other States. The objection that the Government cannot be trusted to expend such a sum will appeal to those who distrust the people, but not to those who believe that the remedy for corruption is not in diminishing the power of the Legislature, but in improving the quality of the legislators.

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The Insurance Investigation

Decidedly the most interesting recent development of the insurance investigation was Mr. Jerome's public declaration that if elected District Attorney he would secure, if possible, the services of Mr. Charles E. Hughes as special counsel, would turn all routine business over to his own chief of staff, and, with the aid of as many of his assistants as necessary, would attempt in every possible way to bring to justice any insurance officers who may have been shown to be amenable to criminal law. Mr. Hughes at once declared that he would not take charge of any criminal investigation, and that it would be a misfortune to his present effort to elicit the facts unsparingly but judicially if the idea were to go abroad that his object was to lay the ground for a criminal trial. Mr. Hughes's declaration does not, however, affect Mr. Jerome's promise to use his power to prosecute offenders unsparingly. The Committee adjourned early last week for a recess made necessary by the fact that several of its members are candidates for re-election to the Legislature in the present political campaign. Nevertheless, two matters of importance were brought out in the few hearings held. One was the fact that the Mutual Life Insurance Company employs a literary agent at a salary of $8,000 a year, and that during this investigation this agent has made it his business to send out through one of the minor press agencies reports and comments on the investigation intended to influence readers in favor of the Mutual Life, but published with every appearance of being impartial news messages. The same agent has as another part of his duties the handling of advertisements in insurance magazines, and also, as he expressed it, "to find all the blackmailers," adding, "It is an awful job, too." The other point of general interest was the testimony of Mr. McClintock, the chief actuary of the Mutual Life, on the method of determining dividends paid to policy-holders. It will be remembered that the President of the Company, Mr. McCurdy, absolutely refused to admit any knowledge as to the relations of decreased dividends to enormously increased expenses. Mr. McClintock admitted that the fixing of dividends was not formed on an exact mathematical basis, but that any particular dividend was agreed upon arbitrarily and in relation chiefly to past dividends and future probabilities. He attempted to show that the decrease had to follow a decrease in the rate of interest earned by the Company's investments, but finally admitted that even this did not bear a direct ratio to the fixing of dividends. Mr. McClintock urged as a check on insurance abuse a law limiting the amount which any insurance company may write, and also earnestly advocated the fullest possible publicity for insurance affairs through the State officials. Another of the large insurance companies was brought into the investigation through the testimony of Mr. Hegeman, President of the Metropolitan Life. While this inquiry was not carried far before adjournment, the peculiar fact was brought out that Mr. Hegeman's company had loaned him $80,000 at the astonishingly low rate of interest of one and a half per cent., and had made a similar loan of $50,000 to President McCall, of the New York Life, a favor which the latter company had responded to by a

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similar low-interest loan to Mr. Hegeman. Moreover, it appeared that the Metropolitan Life was in the habit of making its large collateral loans disappear from the record at the end of the year by the simple process of shifting them to a banking house and resuming them after the annual report had been made. The need of publicity pointed out by Mr. McClintock became doubly evident when Mr. Hegeman remarked that the reason for its shifting of collateral loans was because the company did not wish to have it appear that it was doing business of this kind. On another page will be found an editorial discussion of the present aspect of this insurance investigation, its proper trend for the future, and its relation to the needed legislation which it was appointed to recommend.

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Pennsylvania: The Enterprise Bank Scandal

The suicide of Mr. Clark, the cashier of the Enterprise National Bank of Allegheny, has very materially changed the political outlook in Pennsylvania. Until two weeks ago the indications favored a Republican victory by a somewhat reduced majority. Now the people seem to be aroused as to the issues involved in the candidacy of Representative Plummer for State Treasurer, and seem bent upon turning out of office those who have been responsible for the disgraceful conditions disclosed by the Enterprise Bank episode. Some weeks ago Homer L. Castle, the Prohibition candidate for Superior Court Judge, startled the State by declaring that Senator Penrose had been borrowing from banks enjoying deposits of State moneys. He instanced the case of the National bank at Turtle Creek, which, on the same day it received a $10,000 deposit from the State Treasurer, discounted a note indorsed by Senator Penrose. Mr. Castle also forecast the condition of affairs since disclosed as existing in the Enterprise Bank; and through his disclosures and the subsequent developments, the people of Pennsylvania have come to realize that the present management of the State's finances by the Republican organization not only is unsound in principle, but also facilitates corrupt political banking. It is now generally believed and conceded that State funds are deposited in banks that will grant favors to politicians. The State had $1,030,000 in the Enterprise Bank at the time of its closing, and a total of $10,000,000 in the various other banks of the State. This large sum is maintained by holding back appropriations as long as possible. Indeed, in some instances the school districts have had to borrow money at six per cent. because of the failure of the State to pay appropriations when due. Mayor William H. Berry, of Chester, who is Represenative Plummer's opponent for State Treasurer, has a reputation for rugged and insistent honesty, and may be depended upon, if elected, to rout out the iniquity that has found an abiding-place in the State Treasury. He was elected last spring as reform Mayor of Chester, and now has the indorsement of the Democrats, Prohibitionists, and the Lincoln party, an organization of independent Republicans.

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The Campaign in Philadelphia

The activity of the Philadelphia campaign continues unabated. The Republican machine has made it a point to "hammer the Mayor," but the people have shown no evidence of being misled by their statements. The Mayor has appeared several times on the stump, and in a recent speech declared that "this fight is the fight of the people. The people themselves are responsible and must be responsible for this election. They must suffer all the disadvantages that defeat brings, and they will certainly get all the advantages that success can bring." The City party managers are using with great force and effect a quotation from Secretary Elihu Root's letter to Mayor Weaver written just before he, Secretary Root, took charge of the State Department. This excerpt may be said to sum up the issue as presented to the people of Philadelphia for determination at the election on November 7: "I have a strong desire that the city of Philadelphia, whose history and good name are so dear to every American,

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shall be relieved from the stain which a corrupt and criminal combination masquerading under the name of Republicans have put upon her." In one of his speeches the Mayor took up the charge that the police had been injected into the present campaign. He declared: "They talk to you about the police being in politics. Nothing has been said during the past years by the organization men when they thought they could use the police to protect their tools, when they had to stuff the ballot-box and debauch the police; but now that the administration is determined and has asserted that the police shall be used to protect the ballot-box, they are howling about the police being in politics. They will be used for the protection of the ballot-box, and for the suppression of crime, and for the arrest of every criminal." The effort of the organization to fasten some irregularity upon Mayor Weaver's administration has thus far signally failed. Indeed, the efforts have proved ludicrous. The Work Investigating Committee has held two sessions, the first a complete fiasco from the "organization's" standpoint, because the principal witness, Superintendent Taylor, showed clearly that the police had been forced into politics during former Director Smyth's term of office, under explicit orders from the Director. This was an unexpected rejoinder, and resulted in the Superintendent being excused from further testimony. The Committee has been discredited from the start because it is composed of Select Councilmen who voted for the gas lease last spring, and because its counsel are attorneys for the men under indictment for defrauding the city. The Republican organization had one large demonstration at the Academy of Music, at which Senator Penrose and Governor Pennypacker were the principal speakers. The Governor commended Mayor Weaver for his stand on the gas lease, saying he did exactly right, but that he had followed a mistaken policy in attempting to go outside of the party to bring about needed reforms. Senator Penrose did not declare himself on the gas lease, but maintained that if there were any crimes to be punished or shortcomings to be corrected, the duty of the Mayor was to proceed at once "to investigate, expose, and correct, but that it was not necessary for him to involve himself in bitter factional strife and political combination with those who have fought and vilified him in opposition to the great party that made him." So far as demonstrations are concerned, however, the City party has had much the best of it. Its meetings have been very largely attended and wildly enthusiastic. Its supporters have been brought together with a minimum of effort, because they represent the interests, not of the machine, but of the people themselves. A "straw vote" taken by the Philadelphia "Press" shows that of over 33,000 voters, mostly employees of large establishments, an overwhelming majority, over 24,000, intend to vote for the City party. Philadelphia, like New York, is evidently cultivating the spirit of independent voting. The revolt against bossism is spreading.

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Illegal Picketing Two recent decisions, one in Illinois, the other in Washington, state very clearly the fundamental principle which The Outlook has often laid down as a legal principle applicable to all labor wars—namely, that a combination of workingmen, the direct object of which is the benefit of the men combining, is not made illegal by reason of the fact that incidentally such combination injures the employer; and that, on the other hand, combinations of workingmen the direct object of which is to injure the employer are illegal, and are not made legal by reason of the fact that they have grown out of a labor war. The decisions in both cases dealt with the practice of picketing. In Illinois, in a strike of Chicago printers, the Union established a picket for the purpose of dissuading non-union men from entering the employ which the strikers had left. In Seattle, Washington, the cooks and waiters in a café struck because the proprietor refused to discharge a non-union employee, and the Union surrounded the café with pickets who endeavored to dissuade customers from

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entering. In the Chicago case the picketing was accompanied by violence; but there is nothing in the reports before us to indicate that this was the case in Seattle. The decision of the court in both cases is put upon the broad ground that a combination formed for the purpose of injuring another by interfering with his lawful business is illegal. Says the Supreme Court in the Seattle case:

> It is true that a man not under contract obligations to the contrary has the right to quit the service of another at any time he sees fit, and may lawfully state, either publicly or privately, the grievances felt by him which gave rise to his conduct. And that right, which one man may exercise singly, many may lawfully agree by voluntary association to exercise jointly. But one man singly, nor any number of men jointly, having no legitimate interests to protect, may not ruin the business of another by maliciously inducing his patrons and other persons not to deal with him. Men cannot lawfully jointly congregate about the entrance of another's place of business, and there, either by persuasion, coercion, or force, prevent his patrons and the public at large from entering his place of business or dealing with him.

In this case the object of the picketing was to prevent customers from entering the employer's shop. In the Illinois case the same principle is applied to picketing the object of which was to prevent workingmen from entering it. In this case the court said:

> The Union and its members had the legal right to demand higher wages of complainants, either with or without good reason. The members of the Union also had the legal right to quit work as individuals or collectively as a means of enforcing their demand. But the Union or its members had no legal right to interfere with the business of complainants or to disturb them in their lawful business or occupation, as was done in this case, for the purpose of compelling them to make agreements with the Union or its members as individuals in regard to the wages to be paid.

These decisions are confirmatory of a long line of previous decisions, and are based on such evident principles of essential justice that they will commend themselves to all men, whether employers or employed. They will be unwelcome only to labor agitators. Incidentally they help forward the cause of the open shop—that is, the freedom of the workingmen.

Advance at Panama

The departure of Secretary Taft last week for a tour of investigation at Panama is a positive sign that the work on the Canal itself will be pushed with intelligence and promptness. Whether the sea-level plan or the lock plan is adopted is for the moment of little comparative importance, for there is an immense deal of labor and organization which can be carried on for a year, or perhaps even two, without reference to the final decision on this point. A letter published last week from one of the advisory board, Mr. Isham Randolph, declares that this work of preparation and organization is going on satisfactorily, and predicts that great ocean freighters will pass from the Caribbean to the Pacific before 1915. Mr. Randolph says that the hospitals now at our disposal are a source of just pride; that Colonel Gorgas has done extraordinary work in sanitation, surpassing that which he did in Cuba; that immense improvement has lately been made in feeding and housing the men; that about twenty-four thousand men will sooner or later be required as laborers, and that the present source of supply for labor (Jamaica) is extraordinarily unsatisfactory; he adds that "the whole line is cluttered up with abandoned French machinery," which cost about thirty million dollars and is now valueless. The advisory board is still in session at Washington, and will probably not submit its final report as to the desirability of the sea-level or the lock canal before the latter part of November. Secretary Taft, before leaving this country, emphatically declared that the Government would take up individual problems as they arose, and that while it had not been decided that some of the work should be done by general contractors, the Government felt perfectly free to make that arrangement if this plan seemed preferable for certain parts of the work. If there had been any doubt as to the energy and earnestness of our Government in pushing its Panama Canal plan, it would have been dispelled by President Roosevelt's clear-cut, vigorous utterances in Philadelphia last week. He said that on the very day upon which he spoke he had received

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evidence that affairs on the Isthmus were in such excellent trim as to astonish those who have just returned. The Canal, he said, "is going on well, and it will go on even better in the future." Some of the sources of misrepresentation about the possibilities of the Panama Canal were plainly pointed out by President Roosevelt when he said:

> Every man who had to do with bringing about the construction of the Canal knows that for decades it was opposed, and successfully opposed, by great commercial interests which did not wish to see it completed, and did not wish to see a canal speedily dug through the Isthmus, and communication between the Atlantic and Pacific speedily established. It seems to me evident from certain things I see in a portion of the daily press that those causes are still active, and that they are going to try to bring up the issue with the hope of putting off for ten or fifteen years or over the digging of that Canal. Their weapons have been and are every form of misrepresentation, and, gentlemen, they will fail. You need not have the slightest alarm, Uncle Sam has started to dig that Canal, and it will be dug, and soon. The people who are largely, by the circulation of false rumors and by direct misstatement, seeking to create confusion, such as will defer the building of the Canal, will be disappointed.

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A Municipal Ferry-Boat

The first trip of the first ferry-boat owned and operated by the city of New York took place last week Thursday, with ceremony and public rejoicing. Locally it was a notable event because it inaugurates an immensely improved service of communication between Staten Island and the other boroughs. Some time in the not remote future electric subways will join Staten Island to New York and Brooklyn; meanwhile the city has built the five finest and largest ferry-boats in the world to take the place of the inadequate and slow private ferries of the past, whose long continuance in wretched service had become scandalous. Mayor McClellan truly said, "This ferry is the longest step in the direction of binding the boroughs together since the completion of the Brooklyn Bridge. It establishes a standard of excellence in interborough communication that must forever be lived up to. It will serve to break down the barriers of nature and to bind more closely together into one homogeneous whole the five component parts of our city." But the establishing of this city ferry is of more than local consequence. It shows that, municipally speaking, some things can be done as well as other things. New York City now owns interborough means of communication of three kinds—bridges, subways, and ferries—and thus has its hand on three great avenues of traffic. The economist or politician who should have ventured twenty-five years ago to predict such an extension of municipal control of land and water highways would have been called an impractical visionary. What further extension we may see rests almost solely on the honesty and efficiency of city administration. The city does not need or expect to make a profit on its municipal undertakings; with this advantage over private enterprise, economy as well as efficiency will result, if only we can have an administration to which, from top to bottom, spoils, favoritism, and graft shall be as alien in thought as they are to-day to men like Mr. Jerome.

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The End of the Harvard-Technology Alliance

The corporation of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology has voted to withdraw every proposal looking toward an alliance with Harvard University. This ends for the present, and perhaps for all time, the plan by which it was thought that the millions left under the McKay bequest to Harvard might be used for a technical school without duplicating the work of the neighboring Institute of Technology. The failure of this plan is, however, not due to jealousy, conservatism, or institutional complacency; it is the natural, almost inevitable, consequence of a legal decision. On September 6 the Supreme Court of Massachusetts decided that the Institute holds its present site under conditions which make it impracticable, if not impossible, for it to dispose of its land. Inasmuch as the proposed alliance involved the removal of the Institute to Newton, and the inability of the Institute to dispose of its land makes that removal out of the question, it is unlikely that any alliance can be formed.

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Civil Liberty in Russia

Autocracy surrenders. Constitutionalism triumphs. The vacillating Czar proclaims as his inflexible will liberty throughout all the land. But liberty proclaimed is not liberty secured. How shall it be secured?

The struggle was incited, as all modern revolutions have been incited, by intolerable industrial conditions. Men do not fight for liberty in the abstract; they fight for bread. It was England's industrial oppression that goaded the American colonies to revolt. It was cold and famine that summoned the canaille of France to revolution. It was the hunger of the ill-paid workmen that brought England to the verge of revolution in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, and the repeal of the corn laws that averted the disaster. It was overwork and underpay that at last drove the patient Russian to an industrial revolution which made of St. Petersburg a beleaguered city.

The workingmen are saying to Russia what Carlyle over half a century ago said to England:

> The four-footed worker has already *got* all that his two-handed one is clamoring for! How often must I remind you? There is not a horse in England, able and willing to work, but *has* due food and lodging; and goes about sleek-coated, satisfied in heart. And you say, It is impossible. Brothers, I answer, if for you it be impossible, what is to become of you? It is impossible for us to believe it to be impossible. The human brain, looking at these sleek English horses, refuses to believe in such impossibility for English men.

The cry of the Russian workingman repeats the cry of the world's workers in other ages and other lands: a demand for a chance to earn his bread by the sweat of his brow. No man ought to perish with hunger. If he does, there is wrong somewhere. To ascertain what it is, and to righten it, is ever the world's problem; just now acutely the Russian problem.

But the remedy that the radical revolutionists propose is the old quack remedy, which of itself cures nothing—never has and never will—universal suffrage. The argument is brief, thus: Just government seeks the greatest good of the greatest number. Give the power of government to the greatest number and they will seek their own good. This will give just government. This was the argument of the Benthamites in England, of the Revolutionary idealists in France, of the Thomas Paine democracy in America, of the radicals at the close of the Civil War, of the so-called anti-imperialists to-day. But the extension of political power did not give a pure government to England; nor a just government to France; nor has it secured honest government in America; nor did it promote the greatest good of the greatest number, either black or white, in the South in the so-called re-construction, but really re-destruction, period; nor will it give good government, much less industrial prosperity, to Porto Ricans, Hawaiians, or Filipinos; nor is it a panacea for Russia. A community composed of units each of which cannot govern himself cannot be a self-governing community. Universal education and universal morality are the prerequisites to universal suffrage. What democracy requires is not unqualified suffrage, but such qualifications attached to suffrage, and such industrial and educational provisions in the community, that all men can qualify themselves for suffrage: if a property qualification, then no more property than honest industry can early acquire; if an educational qualification, then a public school which will enable all to attain the education.

The revolutionists are right in demanding redress. They are right in demanding the five corner-stones of industrial and political liberty: Freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, freedom of press, freedom of person, and a free responsible representative assembly. But they are wrong in thinking that universal suffrage will give them this freedom. Mobocracy is as perilous to freedom as autocracy. To make an assembly represent all classes and all sections it is not necessary to have it represent all individuals. Count Witte is reported to have said to the strikers that universal suffrage would lead to corruption and the usurpation of power by the capitalists. All history confirms his prophecy. But do the Russian strikers know history? Do they care for history? Wise men learn by the experience of

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others; fools only by their own. Are the Russian workingmen wise enough to be willing to learn by the experience of others? Or can they learn only by their own? If the latter is the case, Russia has a hard journey before her.

There are in Russia to-day, as there always are in such national crises, three parties: a reactionary party, which wishes to leave things as they are; a revolutionary party, which wishes to clear the country of all her institutions and begin afresh; and a progressive party, which wishes to develop out of the autocratic institutions of the past the free institutions of the future. If the Czar only had intelligence and courage to match his power! But he is apparently another Louis XVI. Nothing is more tragic than this: a weak good man put in a place that needs a strong wise man. This was the tragedy of France in the eighteenth century; this is the tragedy of Russia in the twentieth. A strong foolish man might perhaps have repressed the revolution for another quarter of a century. A strong wise man might have put himself at the head of the progressive party and led a political revolution to a peaceful issue. This foolish weak man has done neither. It was not in him to do either. He has not even the wisdom to choose his advisers. He has not had even the strength to adhere to the advice which he has accepted. And so the revolution gathered strength while he vacillated. Committees of safety were even organized to give that protection to persons and property which he was proved incompetent to give. The process of dethronement began. It might have been consummated by voluntary abdication, by assassination, or by compulsory exile; it has issued, through the Czar's proclamation, in a plan for constitutional government. But the dangers of autocracy are ended. No power can undo the doings of the last sixty days. No power can restore Nicholas II. to the throne of the Czars. He will become either a limited monarch or no monarch at all.

The future no man can foretell. Will the overthrow of autocracy lead to a dismemberment of the Russian Empire, as the overthrow of the Cæsars led to the dismemberment of the Roman Empire? Or will it be followed by a military régime, as the overthrow of Bourbonism in France was followed by the régime of Napoleon? Or is there a Russian statesman waiting to play the part that Cromwell played in England? Or will the progressives, under the leadership of Witte, yet be able, out of an autocracy falling into ruins, to develop a free government without an interregnum of anarchy? Who can tell? Russia's immediate future depends upon the question whether radicals or progressives are to control her destiny.

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The New York City Election

The pending election in New York City is not between three men—McClellan, Hearst, and Ivins; it is not between three political organizations—Democratic, Socialist, Republican: it is between three public tendencies embodied in three not clearly defined constituencies. Under the present law the public property of the city is given over to the administrative control of the Board of Estimate and Apportionment. This Board has the granting of all franchises and the protection, on the one hand, of private property, and, on the other, of public interests. What are these three constituencies who are contending for the administrative control of this enormous property?

Mr. McClellan is nominated by Tammany. Behind him stands Mr. Murphy. Two of the partners with him in control of the city would be Mr. McGowan, as President of the Board of Aldermen, of whom nothing at all is known, and Mr. Ridgway, as President of the Borough of Brooklyn, of whom nothing good is known. To elect Mr. McClellan is to hand the city over to a corporate control; and what such corporate control means in New York City recent revelations make entirely clear.

Mr. Hearst is nominated by his personal retainers and friends. He represents the discontented elements in the city population. To call this discontented population Anarchistic is unjust

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to the population; to call it Socialistic is unjust to Socialism. It is not as intelligent as Socialism; it is not as vicious as Anarchism. It includes some spirits animated by a noble discontent with existing social and industrial conditions. But it also includes the lawless, the vicious, and the wild men. It is unknown, irresponsible, lacking in intelligent principle, definite purpose, high resolve.

Mr. Ivins was nominated by the Republican party; that means the Republican machine. And the Republican machine in New York City is no better than Tammany. But he has broken away from the machine that nominated him; Mr. McClellan has not. How real and radical is Mr. Ivins's declaration of independence is evident from the withdrawal of the Republican candidate for District Attorney and the substitution of Mr. Jerome. From this time on Mr. Jerome and Mr. Ivins are fighting the same battle.

Mr. McClellan is better than the machine which has nominated him; but his candidacy represents graft.

Mr. Hearst is certainly no better, and probably rather worse, than his constituency; his candidacy represents popular discontent.

Mr. Ivins, by his declaration of independence and by his partnership with Mr. Jerome, has made himself the representative of constructive measures for the administrative control of public utilities for the public welfare.

Is a vote for Mr. Ivins a vote thrown away? Let 1886 answer. That election resembled this. Mr. Hewitt, like Mr. McClellan, represented Tammany, reinforced by honest and high-minded men from both parties who were independent of Tammany. Mr. George represented a more high-minded and intelligent discontent with existing conditions than does Mr. Hearst. It is needless to say that he was a very different type of man. Mr. Roosevelt, the candidate of the Republican party, represented what Mr. Ivins now represents. And here are the figures of this tripartite election:

Abram Hewitt	90,552
Theodore Roosevelt	60,435
Henry George	68,110

The Presidential election two years later showed 40,000 more Republican votes. If they had been cast for Mr. Roosevelt, he would have been elected. If Mr. McClellan is elected, it will be by Republican votes. If all Republican voters vote for Mr. Ivins, he will probably be elected. This probability is somewhat enhanced by the annexation of Brooklyn to New York, for Brooklyn has the larger Republican constituency. If all men who are equally opposed to graft on the one hand and demagogism on the other vote for Mr. Ivins, he will be triumphantly elected. If Tammany wins, it will be because the issue is obscured and the public mind is perplexed.

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The Search for a Remedy

The shock with which most people have read the confessions of life insurance officials has unquestionably been a moral stimulus. It has been a dash of cold water upon the face after a time of moral drowsiness. It has set the public conscience stirring. If the Committee chosen by the Legislature of New York to investigate the conduct of life insurance companies had done nothing else than administer this shock, it would have already justified its existence.

The purpose, however, of this Committee was not to conduct a course in the moral education of the country, much less to supply the daily press with readable copy and with subject matter for scathing editorials. The purpose of the Committee—the end for which it was created—was, and still ought to be, the acquisition of such knowledge concerning the administration of life insurance as could be used in the intelligent production of remedial legislation. The chief outcome of this investigation, in other words, should be, not a scandal, but a law. The Committee has been charged with a duty; if it is true to its trust, it will neither seek nor avoid the scandal, but it will insist on the law.

After the Committee was chosen but before it began its investigation, The Outlook pointed out the fact that the function of the Committee was not that of a detective, to search for culprits, or of

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a prosecuting officer, to send culprits to jail. The facts which the Committee has now brought to light do not in the least change its function. It is true that the Committee has revealed practices which are morally reprehensible if not criminally punishable; it has exhibited before the public men whose moral standards are low even if their deeds are not contrary to law. It has, through its counsel, Mr. Hughes, made the covering of respectability which many insurance officials wear ridiculously transparent by holding it up to the light of searching questions. In doing this it has performed a great public service; but it is a service only incidental to that for which it was brought into being. The people of the State have a right to expect that it will not neglect its real function in order to perform another function, however valuable.

There are certain questions for which this Committee ought to find answers. They are questions which are of great importance to all policy-holders and their beneficiaries. Such questions are involved in the study of the distribution of surplus. How ought dividends to be declared? Should deferred dividends be legal? If so, should there be a period beyond which dividends should not be deferred? Can the enormous surplus consequent upon the accumulation of deferred dividends be safeguarded by law more securely than at present? Such questions as these cannot be answered without intelligent and careful study of insurance methods. If the Committee is to get the information necessary for the answer of these questions, it must transfer to grand juries and district attorneys the burden of uncovering and punishing individual remissness and wrong-doing, and must set itself to the task of mastering the conditions.

This does not mean that the Committee need to abandon every kind of investigation that may lead to the discovery of misdeeds, and confine itself to the study of technical aspects of the actuary's science. It does mean, however, that it should keep its original purpose in view; it does mean that public opinion ought to support it in keeping to its original purpose—the framing of remedial legislation.

This is not a narrow purpose. There is plenty of room in it for the incidental discovery of more crookedness. The men who are yet undiscovered, the politicians who have undertaken to blackmail companies, the legislators who have accepted bribes, the bosses who have used their parties as long spoons with which to ladle out the syrup stored in life insurance treasuries, need not fancy themselves secure. There is legal remedy needed, not only for the evils of internal administration of the companies, but also for the evils of the relation which exists between the companies and the Government. It is as much the function of the Committee to discover a preventive for corporate contributions to campaign funds and for corrupt lobbying as it is to devise ways by which the surplus may be more equitably distributed. Moreover, it is well within the function of the Committee to call for any change in executive or judicial machinery of the State that will insure a more prompt and certain punishment of the crimes of which insurance officials may be guilty.

Let the Committee make its purpose broad; and then, no matter what the public clamor, let it stick to that purpose without wavering.

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The Spectator

When an American playwright puts an English nobleman on the stage in a comedy or farce, he usually presents a most absurd and fantastic person who amuses the audience both by his peculiar antics and his unusual points of view. The Spectator has not a very large acquaintance with those whose names and lineage are recorded in Burke's Peerage, but he is persuaded that they are not more dissolute, more erratic, or more unusual than the generality of men born to position and wealth. Of course there are and have always been a few black sheep among those entitled to seats in the House of Lords, but so also have there been in our august Senate. The wonder is, it seems to the Spectator, that the percentage among the English nobility of ne'er-do-wells is not greater than it is. They are not selected on account of their worth, ability, or achievements;

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they merely happen. But there are many and many among them—the great majority, in fact—who are persons of much seriousness of purpose and entire uprightness of life and conduct.

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The Spectator lately had the opportunity of talking with two English peers, and he never met two more modest men or gentler men than these. Both were studying America and Americans, and both were at the same time impressed and amused. They were impressed by the material development to which most of the ability and force of the country seems devoted; and they were amused, or rather let us say bewildered, by what seemed to them the anomalous social conditions that exist in a country where theoretically there is no caste or class distinction. "How can there be classes," asked Lord Munson, "in a country where all men are born equal? That there are, I see plainly enough, but how do you draw the lines, how do you put people in their proper places? This baffles me all the while. I understand it at home, for there very great wealth and very great ability remove all barriers, and the rich men and the great men go wherever they please. But why should there be any barriers in a country where all are born equal?"

❀

"The equality announced in Mr. Jefferson's great paper," the Spectator answered, "referred to the law of life and not to the merely artificial and unwritten regulations of what is called society. Before we broke loose from England our society was regulated very much as it was in the mother country. We did not have much nobility, it is true, but we had a gentry as well established as it was with you. When we became independent, these merely social obligations were not in the least abrogated. The lines that were drawn in colonial times continued to exist, and they continue to-day. All that declaration meant was that in the eyes of the law all men were born equal."

❀

"But so they are at home," Lord Munson protested. "Every man in Great Britain is as much entitled to his day in court as any American can be. If that declaration referred merely to the law, and did not include all the social privileges as well, it seems to me to have been rather meaningless."

"And so it would be," replied the Spectator, "if we forget the issues and contentions which brought about the conflict between the King and the colonists. The colonists were not represented in Parliament, but Parliament proclaimed the right to rule and tax the colonists without their consent or without consulting them, and even in the face of their earnest and persistent protests. Here, you see, there was neither freedom nor equality. There was one rule, one method for the subject at home, and entirely different rules and methods for the subjects across the sea. These were the conditions that called forth the declaration."

❀

"Ah, yes, I see," said Lord Munson, reflectively, "but the conditions in society seem vastly strange to me. Is wealth the one standard by which social degrees are measured?"

"Not more so than in the rest of the world. Here we have a social class all by itself composed of what might be called the *mighty rich*. But even into this class not all of the very rich can get, and into it some of the others do not care to go. The other social degrees are beyond me to describe; indeed, I do not believe they can be described; they have to be seen and felt. If you stay here a while, you will get a grasp on what now baffles you, and you will get it without the assistance of any American."

❀

"At dinner last night," said Lord Munson, "I was talking about this matter with a clergyman, and he told me that in his village, apart from the mere visitors and sojourners, there were at least four distinct castes and maybe five that were separated as widely as possible; that they touched shoulders only in politics and religion and business; that they did not intermarry, nor even visit one another; that they took their pleasures each set to itself, and that none of them

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had the slightest social relation with what he called 'the summer colony.' Your democracy, my dear sir, seems to me to be a merely political democracy, and to give no greater opportunity for the advancement and the development of the individual of force and ability than the same person would have in England. To be sure, your great money-makers make more money than ours do, but there is no cause for us to be sorry for a money-maker in any part of the world. A fellow with that gift knows how to look after himself, whatever his environment. Maroon him on an almost desert island and he will pretty soon have all the natives working for him and making the best of a bad job. These money-makers are intensely interesting to observe and study, but what an awful fate it would be to have to associate with them all the time! Their forcefulness and dominating brutality interest as occasional spectacles, but living with them, or, worse still, living under them, would be horrible. Wealth is to-day the great force of the world. A man will fight for you to the death, but he will see you hanged before he will give you his money or even a little of it."

❀

The other nobleman the Spectator talked with is the Duke of Newcastle. His modesty might not unfairly be called shyness. And yet he is a man of intelligence and cultivation, and decidedly a man of feeling. He has been in America often and knows some of its phases very well. That he likes the country and the people is certain. But he gets some quiet amusement out of us and our ways. Our bumptiousness—he did not call it that—does not excite his ridicule, even though it does make him smile. In the ship on which he came over the last time there was returning home a party of women, something like seventy, the Spectator believes, who had been sent on a tour of Europe by a newspaper of one of our cities of the second class. These women had been selected by the readers of the paper as the most popular in the city in which they live. To be among the most popular in a city of several hundred thousand people is surely a proud eminence. These ladies most unaffectedly felt it so, and they also felt proud of the city which was fond of them. London was a big place, Paris was a gay place, but Pittsburg was better than both put together. Their insistence on this impressed the Duke tremendously, and he could not escape from it if he had wanted to, as they proclaimed their faith in their own town and people in such manner that only the very deaf would have failed to hear. They even called it from table to table in the dining-saloon. "What's the matter with Pittsburg?" one would ask in a loud voice, the others responding in chorus, "She's all right!"

❀

The Duke told this to the Spectator with a twinkle in his eyes, for it had amused him greatly. More seriously, he added: "The impression made by these Americans traveling in herds is what gives to many foreigners the false notion they have as to American manners and American cultivation. I, who have been here quite frequently, know that the manners and the cultivation of the better sorts of Americans are as good as those of the people in any country in the world; but the stay-at-homes do not see what I have seen. The well-mannered and well-cultivated Americans who travel in Europe are not known as such, for they are neither loud nor obtrusive—they are just as the rest of the well bred are in other parts of the world. I have remarked the vulgar Americans and have felt sorry for the bad impression they made. I say this, though I know that nothing could be more vulgar and objectionable than an ignorant and ill-bred Englishman on his travels. In one respect the English and American ignoramuses are very alike. Each is angry with everything he sees abroad that is different from what he is accustomed to at home. Why they should go to strange countries is amazing, when their attitude towards all that is strange is hostile. If it makes them more content with what they have at home, then the time and money spent in travel may not be wasted, but the travel with such a result cannot be said to broaden their minds."

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CAMPAIGN FUNDS AND CAMPAIGN SCANDALS

BY JOHN FOSTER CARR

THE necessary and legitimate expenses of every campaign are enormous. Press agents and pamphleteers of experience draw high salaries. Spellbinders and their railroad fares and hotel bills are indispensable luxuries. A great army of stenographers and typewriters, clerks, messengers, bill-posters, and distributers of "literature" must be employed. There are bills for printing and lithographing, and bills for advertising in the daily press and magazines; bills for addressing envelopes, bills for fitting up campaign headquarters and election booths, bills for stationery, flags, bunting, fireworks, calcium lights. The smallest items reach gigantic totals. In the last Presidential campaign badges and celluloid buttons alone cost over $100,000. In the large cities expense is piled on expense. Cart-tail orators by the hundred have from $5 to $10 each for their evening's work. Bands by the dozen are hired, and each musician is paid $6 a night. Uniforms and torches cost from $1.75 to $2.50 a man. Carriages and automobiles for sick and crippled voters average from $15 to $25 each. Scores of biographs are operated throughout the entire campaign, at a weekly expense of $90 a lantern. In Greater New York, during the mayoralty campaign of 1903, banners and transparencies cost over $75,000. Postage alone certainly amounted to much more than $40,000. For the last week before election more than $1,000 was spent nightly in the rent of halls. By the insane tyranny of custom, to which no one dares breathe an objection, both parties are forced to pay thousands of "workers," generally drunken saloon roughs, who loaf about the polling-places and are of no real use for the business of election. "Some of these deservin' citizens," says Plunkitt of Tammany Hall, "have to make enough on registration and election days to keep them the rest of the year." And he asks: "Isn't it right that they should get a share of the campaign money?"

License to grab from the "dough-bag" has become an inalienable birthright for the smaller grafters. Every man who renders a service is a voter. He must always be paid more than his labor is worth, and his labor is often worth a great deal. A bill-poster who toils all night and all the day Sunday pasting his flash-bills on barrels and dead-walls is entitled to a high extra wage. But no ordinary excess rate is sufficient. An enthusiastic spirit of gratitude must be awakened in the man, if the fires of party patriotism are to blaze brightly. Extravagant expectations are universal, extravagant demands of hourly occurrence. Worse still, almost every kind of helper and worker, down to the smallest messenger-boy, acts as if the money in the party chest did not represent honest labor or honest saving of any kind, and as if it properly belonged to any one clever enough to lay hands on it. It is "honest graft," and human rapacity grows vulture-like. For our greatest city election, extravagance becomes such profligacy of expenditure that for each of the last three mayoralty campaigns in New York it is estimated that all parties spent more than $800,000; and yet Mr. Plunkitt, in the fullness of knowledge, declares, "There's never been half enough money to go around."

And even this great sum does not include Tammany's systematic and expensive all-the-year-round election work. There are its numerous local headquarters, with their thousand calls for help, and jobs, and rent money; and, above all, its costly philanthropy in the tenements; for, with a strict eye to political business, Tammany Hall maintains the most important charitable organization

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in the city. It is said that Tammany's contributions to the necessities of the poor equal from fifteeen to twenty-five per cent. of the amount annually expended for charitable purposes by New York's combined churches and benevolent societies. It is clear enough that the fortunes of politicians are not stolen from their party treasuries. From legitimate to illegitimate, the demands are always greater than the supply. The man who holds Tammany's purse-strings accounts to no one for his disbursements; but those who are familiar with Mr. Croker's affairs say that he had to dip deeply into his own pockets each year to provide for all the running expenses of the Hall. That Mr. Croker's pockets could always be speedily refilled from the public wealth is another story.

Tammany represents the extreme limit of prodigality. Other political organizations follow as they can, and the standard of expense in campaign management has been set with increasing extravagance. Economy means defeat, and the money must be raised. Not only so, but as the standard of morals rises, as it is rising steadily, with laws and regulations in the government departments being enforced more severely each year, the collectors of political funds have greater need of energy and wit to turn the screws tighter, to evade legal obstacles with greater subtlety, and to discover new sources of revenue. In the end, both parties, particularly in the desperate passes of municipal fights, are guilty of such excesses that the pot cannot call the kettle black without raising a National guffaw.

How are these lavishly spent funds actually raised in this year of grace 1905? And with what abuses? Every one knows that by far the heaviest contributors are pecuniarily interested individuals and corporations. Their assistance has gradually grown, and only gradually are its consequences seen. In the sixties political contests were chiefly supported by a multitude of small contributors. It was a simple and democratic way—a help and not a hindrance to popular representative government. To-day the small contributor has almost entirely escaped his duty, and our Assemblymen, Congressmen, and State and National Senators are so often the blind agents of "bosses" and corporations that many a time the alarmist seems to utter only sober sense when he cries excitedly that our representative institutions are in danger.

A new organization of political parties, with up-to-date, business-like methods of plunder, became inevitable whenever in the States and cities they sold themselves for the money they needed to live the new, extravagant political life. Just as inevitable was the creation of the "boss," a man of undisputed and irresponsible power, unscrupulous and able in intriguing for patronage and collecting money. No two of our "bosses" are alike either in manners, methods, or even in organizing power, but they all have the masterful gift of the highwayman. It does not matter whether it is Cox, saloon-keeper and "boss" of Cincinnati, burly, stolid, savage, with his "There's only one divides up here;" or Quay, cultured, busy, plotting, who owned the whole State of Pennsylvania, as the Sultan owns slaves; or Murphy, ex-bartender, suave, priestlike, silent, who is raising Tammany to a power heretofore undreamed of. Each is a brutal and sinister figure; each represents a conspiracy to establish a government of fear and favor. Cox and Murphy, like the dead Quay, are the supreme types. They have few equals, but they have an army of imitators. The power of each chiefly depends upon his ability to exact large, secret tribute; and the most dangerous of them is the one whose absolute power, like Cox's, permits the greatest secrecy. As the necessity for secrecy makes the "boss" inevitable, so it is the big unavowed contribution, buying or trying to buy an unfair privilege, that makes the all-round "square deal" impossible.

Neither political sentiment, nor principles, nor even party bigotry really determines the majority of these large political gifts. Such contributions are usually considered as purely "a business proposition." The saloon-keeper thinks of his as a kind of extra-legal license to sell liquor at forbidden hours. The contractor who habitually infringes the building law pays his as a bribe of silence. The placeman, as a feudal ten-

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ant, reluctantly hands his out like ancient scutage, or shield money. For others the pay is blackmail, or a hold-up, or a ransom extorted by bandits, or a form of life or accident insurance. The immediate purpose of such gifts may be winning favor or avoiding trouble, but the ultimate object is making or saving money. An official of a small railroad interest that enters New York City once told me that his company made a practice of sending $5,000 to Tammany at the beginning of each campaign. "We often have to ask for favors," he said, "and it puts us on a friendly footing with influential people in the Hall. It is true that we have to pay separately for our privileges when we get them, but it saves us money in the end. Last year, when we needed to run some tracks across an out-of-the-way avenue"—and he named the place—"they made us give up $30,000, but it would have cost us double that if we hadn't had a backer in the Wigwam."

Gifts are often made to both parties by the same donor, and contributing corporations calulate with some nicety the power of politicians to help or injure them. In a recent campaign there was a close contest in one of the New Jersey counties, and, certain that he could control the local election if he had aid, the Chairman of the Democratic County Committee appealed for large financial help to ex-Senator Smith, the "boss" of the Jersey Democracy. The ex-Senator could not grant the full demand, and felt obliged to give some explanation of present Democratic poverty in New Jersey. He said that there was a time, when the State was in the doubtful column and Democrats and Republicans had an almost equal chance of success, that the Pennsylvania Railroad Company treated the Democrats almost as handsomely as its Republican favorites, but that ever since Bryan's overwhelming defeat in 1896, as the Democrats had not the slightest chance of carrying the State, the Pennsylvania had not only cut off all its bounties to the Democratic fund, but, with all the privileges it needed and fearing no Democratic competition in legislative demands, it had greatly reduced the amount which it formerly gave the Republicans. Could "a business proposition" be more clearly stated? The two parties have several hundred important treasuries, National, State, and municipal. Into them these gifts are cast more or less stealthily, and no one can estimate their huge gross annual amount. Some are criminal; some are probably recoverable by stockholders through civil process; they are nearly all dishonorable to both giver and receiver.

Then there are the donations from candidates, which are always "appreciated"—a gentle word that oftens cloaks an imperious demand. No law prevents the voluntary gift, and when a man runs for office his supporters usually think that he ought to pay a good share of the election expenses. The candidate is as frequently of an opposite opinion. I have heard the case warmly put in a district club. An upright and uncanting political amateur said: "We are working for what we believe in. Mack should give all he can afford to give. He is in earnest enough to head this fight and devote all his time to it. Besides, it's partly for the gratification of his ambition." That is the argument in a nutshell, and from that point to suggesting the duty of contribution is but a step, and a slightly longer second step to the exaction of money as a condition of nomination. Tammany has the matter systematized, and charges according to a regular tariff for a nomination when nomination means election. The Mazet Committee elicited the fact that a Supreme Court judge had to give a full year's salary, $17,500. "The man is picked out," says the Tammany apologist, "and somehow he gets to understand what's expected of him, and he ponies up—all from gratitude to the organization that honored him, see? Why not? He has fourteen years on the bench ahead of him, and ten thousand other lawyers would be willin' to put up twice as much to be in his shoes."

But the value of a seat on the Supreme Court bench in New York is better understood by machine politicians to-day than it was six years ago. They consider the large salary and the length of the term a smaller matter than the rich patronage in its gift. A judge of the

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Supreme Court may designate the newspapers in which legal advertisements appear, appoint guardians for wealthy orphans, commissioners in condemnation proceedings, and referees and receivers in litigations where millions are often at stake—and the receiver's fees are princely when large sums are involved. It is the common talk among reputable members of the New York bar that amounts as great as $30,000, $50,000, and even $100,000 have been paid as "campaign contributions" by certain nominees for Supreme Court judgeships. Few Tammany nominees escape paying their due quota, and in the aggregate these sums are large; but judgeship plums are few, and the assessment of candidates supplies a very small part of the munitions of war. Bar-room metaphors are the ordinary speech of New York politicians, and one of them confided to me his opinion that such contributions "ain't more'n enough to pay for a couple of rounds of drinks for the boys."

The objections to these bargained or unbargained assessments of candidates are so serious that they should be altogether prohibited by law. They create an undue advantage in favor of men of wealth as against men of character and ability, and they mean that many young men mortgage their whole public future for the help which they receive at the outset of their political career, when they incur obligations which they can pay only by prostituting their official positions.

But a far graver abuse, that has become a National scandal, is the assessment of office-holders. In spite of warnings issued by the different departments, in spite of President Roosevelt's swift action in the Bunn case, and Mr. Cortelyou's outspoken declaration against the custom shortly after he became Chairman of the National Republican Committee, the Civil Service Reform Association declares that during the last campaign "there is no possible doubt but that assessments have been levied on Federal employees all over the country." The opportunities for wringing this despicably mean toll from the most poorly paid of the Government's servants are almost boundless, for there are about 280,000 men and women in the classified Civil Service, receiving salaries reaching a total each year of $175,000,000—an annual wage of only $625 for each employee.

Everywhere campaign committees sent their requests for subscriptions to subordinate Federal office-holders. Their terms are almost invariably polite, and they assume that the contribution is to be wholly voluntary. But these casual printed or typewritten appeals are understood by the Government employees to be perfectly definite orders to contribute or suffer the consequences. Many would resist the injustice of such a demand, but they believe that to do so would be to quarrel with their bread and butter. On the whole, perhaps the notion is absurd, but every department can furnish a few examples which lend color to the belief that complaint to the authorities is dangerous. Besides, there is a spirit abroad in the service that holds such an act treason. But the call is not always gently veiled; it often becomes a peremptory demand. Some of the cases in the last campaign were flagrant. In Kentucky postal clerks and other employees of the Rural Free Delivery were by letter ordered to stand and deliver in the following fashion: "The position you hold in the party shows your active interest in its principles and policies and your desire for its success. We therefore confidently expect aid from you and hope to receive a liberal contribution for the legitimate purpose only of paying the expenses of our organization. We trust your contribution will not be less than $70." The Chairman of the Iowa Republican State Committee sent a letter to each Iowan in the classified service in Washington, requesting what he called "the surrender of an equitable part of the salary you are receiving from the Government," and he defined the "equitable part" to be three per cent. of the clerk's salary.

The law of the land does not forbid office-holders to contribute to campaign funds, if they wish to do so. It merely prohibits one office-holder from approaching another with such a demand, and no one is permitted to solicit political contributions in a Federal building. It is an easy matter to evade a lax law, and so

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little legal evidence sufficiently definite to warrant a prosecution is ever laid before the Civil Service Commission that prosecutions are rarely begun. There are probably not more than two or three dozen cases of actual fine or imprisonment on the records; and since the Civil Service Act was passed in 1883 there has been only one important successful prosecution.

These methods of filling party coffers are in general use to-day in the present State and municipal campaigns. By the tens of thousands such letters and circulars are now being sent out from political headquarters. They take many forms. One will begin with a covert threat: "I am directed on behalf of the Finance Committee—." Another, typewritten and in the usual style, giving among names of the Finance Committee four city officials, is, in defiance of law, sent to hundreds of place-holders. The Chairman claims that he did not know that the addressees were city employees. A third typewritten letter is signed with a rubber stamp, and, in absence of proof that its use was authorized, prosecution is impossible.

Tammany is astute. "Like Machiavelli's wise prince, it is never prodigal with great gifts; it distills its benefits in drops. Its placemen live in constant hope of further bounties, and in constant fear of its rough power. It sends out no threatening or begging letters, no collector henchman makes a dunning office call; but its liegemen "know what's expected of them." Tammany believes in doing things "nice and quiet," and if men need reminding, they are seen at their homes. Plunkitt has described the extracting process. A reluctant contributor, long before the days of the ex-Senator's frank talks, once told me the story of such a visit. The resemblance between the tales is so close that the collector's tactics must have been invariable. Dan Donegan (if it was that solemn gentleman) entered the small dining-room, insinuating his business with a hard-drawn smile. "We ain't seen you lately," he began, and, without a pause, "It's a cold day, ain't it?" As my friend seemed not to understand, Dan turned up his coat-collar, shuddered as if he had felt a blast from the Arctic, and said, slowly and impressively, "It's goin' to be much colder." The price of peace was immediately forthcoming. Dan took his leave with—"It ain't as cold as I thought it was." Down came his collar, and out of the door he went.

But even in Tammany—genial and kind-hearted Tammany, that New York loves for its good nature—discipline is sometimes necessary. The Civil Service Law presents a frequent obstacle, but there is always a bludgeon handy to beat the rebellious into submission. A fireman who could not be removed, and a man with a family, was transferred fourteen times within a single year to widely different parts of Greater New York. He would still be on his travels, or marooned, if he had not yielded and paid up. Another instance, not of an employee, shows the use of another sort of bludgeon: A contractor, during Van Wyck's administration, decided to sever his connection with the Tammany General Committee, and withheld his annual payment of fifty dollars for dues. Within a week the Building Department discovered that his house encroached upon the street line one inch and a half. He quickly resumed membership of the Committee, and is paying his dues slavishly unto this day.

Our present way of financing campaigns has become a part of the political system of the land. A private individual is now rarely asked for a contribution, and the money gifts of disinterested citizens have dwindled until they are an entirely negligible source of revenue. Now and again a reform movement is so supported, but even in such cases by far the largest part of the fund raised is supplied by a small number of wealthy men, who thus exert an influence out of all proportion to their numbers on the policies of parties. They are often full of self-sacrifice and noble ideals, but because they are out of sympathy with the great mass of the people for whom they labor, they are continually building on sand. The days of the rank and file subscriptions of $2 and $5 seem gone forever. Men punctually pay as a matter of course for the support of their churches, clubs, benefit societies, and

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newspapers; and they should do the same for their political parties. But a generation has grown up with an idea that a party should be self-supporting. Yet political parties are not wealth-producers, and they are fast reaching a point, even Nationally, where they can maintain themselves only by selling, or pretending to sell, a part of the public rights of which they are the custodians through the officers whom they elect. The politicians to a man are skeptical of the possibility of supporting a political campaign by popular contributions, and their cynicism completes the despairing side of the picture. Privately their scoffing is voluble—there is no way but the present way, and that is the best of all possible ways. Publicly they are silent or noncommittal. "Big Bill" Devery was found corpulently enthroned on a bootblack stand at his saloon doorway, nervously kneading a roll of $20 bills. "Can a political club be supported by the contributions of its own members?" he was asked. "What d'ye think of the new issue of 'yellow boys'?" he answered, smiling heavily, as he waved the bills in my face.

But a politician sees the worst side of human nature, and, like a policeman, is a bad judge of the morals of the common run of men. There are two hopes for the future, and both are bright. There is a remarkable revival of civic righteousness sweeping over the land that is awakening men to a loftier conception of their duties as citizens. With this an aroused public sentiment already demands the enactment of a law against corporate contributions. When political managers feel the pinch of this legally enforced poverty, they will be driven to appeal to the pocket of the individual voter. Plunkitt in his wrath against the Civil Service blurted out a deeper truth than he knew of when he said that a political organization is like a church. "It does missionary work like a church, it's got big expenses, and it's got to be supported by the faithful." The churches that are maintained by small voluntary contributions from thousands of worshipers are living, growing realities. Those whose support comes from endowments and the donations of a few wealthy communicants have already lost their usefulness. The "boss" is the man who can procure the "dough," and the autocracy that he has founded among us has its origin in the failure of citizens not only to exercise their political rights, but to furnish the money for the absolutely necessary expenses of their political parties. Representation without taxation is becoming fully as great a wrong as taxation without representation.

A renewal of the old custom of small contributions for a campaign would give a different quality to the fund, and induce respect for it. An honest subscription for a legitimate purpose, it could no longer be looked upon as "honest graft," and economy of expenditure and public accounting would follow. Fifteen million dollars is probably the wildest estimate that has been placed on the immediate cost of the last Presidential campaign. Yet this amounts to but $1.11 for each elector. A fifty-cent piece from every voter would more than cover every lawful expense of a campaign, and go far toward freeing both parties from the evil influence of "bosses" and corporations.

November

By Priscilla Leonard

Gray Autumn, girded for the journey, stands
And looks o'er woods waiting for winter's snow.
Sere are the fields, and reaped the harvest lands;
Chill is the path her tired feet must go.
Her fire of smoldering leaves is almost done:
Its wavering smoke dies, pungent, on the air;
Yet still she smiles—"*My heart has known the sun*
And the bright leaves upon these branches bare!"

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Socialism in Practice

By Robert Donald

"WE are all Socialists now," said the late Sir William Harcourt in the House of Commons when defending the interference of the State in social and industrial affairs. There was truth in the statement, although it is difficult to define precisely what Socialism is. And this for the reason that what is Socialism to one is only temporizing progress or the beginnings of revolution to others. It could be said, with more or less accuracy, that there are about as many kinds of Socialism as there are Socialists. Professing Socialists would certainly not agree on a definition.

In view of the various interpretations put upon Socialism, and to prevent misunderstanding, I want to state at the outset what I mean by Socialism as here described. Any action by a public authority, municipal, State, or national, which impinges on private enterprise, curbs the freedom of personal and individual activities, narrows the scope for accumulating wealth, controls or regulates trade and industry, and destroys the feudalistic idea that one has the right to do what one likes with one's own regardless of others, is Socialistic in character. Public ownership, direction, or operation of public works, of institutions and undertakings, is Socialism in practice—the kind of Socialism to which I refer, although not, perhaps, the kind which is advocated and recognized by most professing Socialists. With them, or with the majority, as soon as some part of the theory of government or social policy which they advocate is put into practice by others, it ceases to be the Socialism which they seek, and they proceed to demand something different. The system is not bound to the party, nor the party inseparable from the system.

The Prussian Government has gone a long way on the road towards State Socialism, but there has never been a Socialist in office, nor has the Diet or the administration been stimulated or helped by Social Democrats. The Progressive party on the London County Council has carried out a great volume of administration on Socialistic lines, but, with the exception of a few Fabians, contains no professing Socialists. English-speaking peoples do not cling to ideals, theories, and captions, or condemn a policy because it may be incorporated within the limits of a programme of Socialism by Socialists. We are more concerned with what a reform does than by what name it may be known. The bogy of Socialism does not alarm us if the result is good.

I.

It will be generally admitted, I think, that controversies and policies on all the chief social, industrial, and economical problems in civilized countries of the world to-day narrow themselves down to the issue between Individualism and Socialism—the one holding fast to the doctrine of personal right and individual liberty, the other seeking progress by means of more collectivist action. As between these two issues it is Socialism that is gaining. In the sense in which it is here dealt with—implying an extension of governmental functions and control—Socialism represents a policy which is gaining ground in every civilized country, stands for a system which is inseparable from the social progress of humanity. Practical Socialism is the remedy applied to meet outstanding economic wrongs, to root out municipal corruption, to allay industrial unrest, and to ameliorate the lot of the poor. It is brought into the service of every State to solve the greatest national problems.

These assertions will not appear so sweeping as they seem when the facts are examined. Cast a glance over the big problems which engage the attention of statesmen and legislatures of all the nations, and we shall find, whether it be under the unchecked autocracy of Russia

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or the unfettered democracies of Australasia, that Socialistic remedies are appealed to and put into practice.

II.

In America one of the most vital questions which occupies the minds of all the best citizens is the reform of city government. Relief from the present misrule of predatory politicians and grafters is sought in a greater measure of municipal ownership and control. The hope of the future lies in this policy —the outcome of a reawakened civic conscience resting on a recognition of the moral responsibiilities of the citizens, acting collectively through elected representatives prepared to serve their cities honestly and to be faithful to the public trust.

First in importance among National problems is the growing danger of industrial combinations which, born in the stress of individualistic competition, have assumed the form of National monopolies. To protect the people against this new danger, the Federal Government asserts its authority, and seeks larger powers to make its interference more effective. The scandals connected with the Equitable Company are leading to demands for Federal control of insurance—a principle already established by State supervision of insurance and banking. More and more the Federal Government must find itself obliged to regulate and control transportation.

France tried to join the Atlantic to the Pacific by private enterprise, and failed through incompetent management, fraud, and corruption. The Government of the United States undertakes the work as a Federal duty, and gives another example of Socialistic enterprise.

Progress in America's oversea possessions can be made only by the same agency. The National Government must execute public works, establish, manage, or control undertakings for the advancement of industry and civilization, which without its initiative would not exist.

The same policy which America has to adopt is being carried out by her neighbors. Canada's national question is the twin problem of transportation and the development of the Northwest. It has led to Government ownership of a new railroad, and to the provincial authorities—notably Ontario—entering into a kind of benevolent partnership with the farmers for improving the methods of culture, dairy farming, fruit-growing, and the methods of transit. Canada is also maintaining its position as landowner, and is stopping the policy of giving up its national inheritance in land and forests.

In the United States' southern neighbor, Mexico, many examples of State action might be cited. The Government, in partnership with a London contractor, is building a transcontinental railroad—to act as a competitor of Panama—and a short time ago, in order to prevent a railroad monopoly being created, the Administration bought stock to give it control over the dominant company in the combine.

In the lesser developed South American countries other examples of State Socialism may be found, such as the recent acquisition of the match factories by Venezuela, which had already established a tobacco monopoly.

III.

Let us turn now to the old and more settled communities of Europe. The same conditions of things exist, and in an aggravated form. The press of social and economic troubles drives the States towards Socialism. The questions differ in each country, but the result is the same—the growing power of the State over the individual. In Great Britain the Government has years ago established the principle that a landowner cannot do what he likes with his own land, cannot be trusted to fix the rent which a tenant can fairly be called upon to pay. In Ireland and in the Highlands of Scotland land commissioners fix fair rents as between landlords and tenants, and cancel arrears of rent if they think that the rents in the past have been excessive. The Socialist State, through the Land Court, says to the Duke of Argyle, "We deny your right to exercise the power of your monopoly in land; we mistrust your sense of fairness; in the name of the people, and in the cause of social justice,

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we compel you to make your rents reasonable, and fix the amounts for you." Following on these precedents, it is now sought to apply the same system of fair rent courts in the slums of congested cities, where the rookery-owner grinds the faces of the poor. The poor of Whitechapel are as much in need of protection from the usurious tribute of alien owners as are the cotters of Galway or the crofters of Skye. Under the Irish Land Act the State acts as agent and banker to enable tenants to buy up the present landowners and become owners of the soil they cultivate. The State supervises the transactions and advances the purchase money.

The British Government has been making advances towards Socialism in various ways—by adding to the functions of the State, by increasing administrative control over railroads, trade, factories, etc. The last acts of the present Conservative Government in the session just ended were to give municipalities power to manage colonies for the unemployed, and to nationalize the telephone service. For many years the telephone service was inefficient and inadequate, the result of the individualist policy of allowing private corporations, after wasteful competition, to create a national monopoly. About twelve years ago the Government, in order to protect the State monopoly of telegraphs, acquired the trunk telephone lines. Six years ago it tried further to appease the discontent of the public by authorizing competitive municipal telephones in the provinces, and post-office opposition in London. There could be but one end to all such palliatives—State ownership.

We are accustomed now to appeal to the State when any national danger threatens the commonwealth. Thus, a few months ago, when an alarm was raised that a German syndicate was buying coal fields in South Wales, the Government was called upon to check the enterprise, and to protect the fuel for the navy by becoming colliery-owner itself.

The proposition that a municipal authority should feed half-starved schoolchildren at the public expense is now seriously entertained. Two bills were before Parliament last session to create a public authority to own and manage the port and docks of London. Decrepit, dividend-hunting corporations, by their mismanagement and neglect, are imperiling the maritime supremacy of London, and handicapping the commerce of the Empire. All parties agree on the remedy—public ownership.

The solution of all urgent social problems in Great Britain calls for State intervention, and the advent of a Liberal Government to office will probably see schemes in force for reclaiming waste lands by the State, the nationalization of canals, and other Socialistic undertakings. The Radicals also advocate, as an alternative to Mr. Chamberlain's preferential tariff with the colonies, an Imperial steamship service, owned and operated by the central Government.

IV.

As in Great Britain, so in other countries—more State intervention is the cure for social ills. In Germany, a short time ago, there was a big strike among the coal-miners of Westphalia. One outcome of it was that the Prussian Government, already the chief colliery-owner in the Saar district, wanted to assert its influence over the coal trust in Westphalia by acquiring a preponderating interest as stockholder in the Hibernia Company, and sending its representative to sit on the directorate of the trust. The strike also led to the introduction of more stringent mining laws. The demand of the industrial community in Prussia for more means of internal communication is met by the proposal to spend $76,000,000 on new State canals.

The Italian Government, as the result of troubles connected with the railroads, proposes to nationalize the system; and the chief measure which was before the last session of the Belgian Parliament was a bill to spend $50,000,000 in making Antwerp the premier port on the Continent.

National governments are continually adding to their responsibilities in social matters. It is recognized that the State must intervene more and more in the drink trade. In the northern countries of Europe, where drunkenness is greatest, the State is in possession or in

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control—as in Russia, where a State monopoly in spirits is established, and in Scandinavia, where the Gothenburg system of public ownership and supervision exists. In Switzerland the Government carries on the manufacture of spirits. Every country which has investigated the spread of alcoholism looks forward for help to public ownership and control. In England a law has been passed authorizing the acquisition of existing saloons by condemnation when the licensing magistrates decide that they are not required; and the establishment of "trust public-houses" by semi-philanthropic corporations is leading to a demand for municipalizing the saloon business. The object is to remove the commercial element from the supply of alcoholic liquors.

V.

I could multiply examples of present-day tendencies from other European countries and from old and new Africa. The marvelous development of Egypt, the grafting of modern institutions on the remains of an ancient civilization, has been due to State administration. Lord Cromer has protected Egypt from the company promoter. Its new system of transportation, its irrigation works, its educational system, its new public institutions, and other developments, have been introduced, carried out, and managed by Lord Cromer's administration, which is making the arid desert a land flowing with milk and honey, and turning the impoverished fellaheen into prosperous peasants. In the new Transvaal what little has been achieved in the way of development since the war has been done by the State, which, among other things, retained the major share in the Premier diamond mine—an enterprise which now brings a net profit of over a million dollars a year to the young colony's exchequer.

The commonwealths of Australia and New Zealand are year by year adding to their extensive system of State Socialism by new experiments. Japan has its State monopolies, workshops, and railroads, and has given a striking example of State ownership in Formosa, where it constructed new harbors and State railroads and carried out other public works. The two great products of Formosa are salt and camphor. Under Chinese rule the camphor trade was in a precarious condition. The trees were cut down regardless of future consequences—just as American forests have been denuded. Crude methods of manufacture existed, and prices were unstable. The Japanese made the camphor business a State monopoly—protected the trees and improved methods of manufacture. The island now draws a large part of its revenue from this industry. The Japanese found a salt monopoly in the island, but did not consider that a necessary of daily life should be monopolized by the Government. The introduction of private enterprise led, however, to the destruction of some of the salt fields and a rise in the price of salt, so that State ownership was resumed.

A neighboring colonial territory—the Straits Settlements—gives another good example of State ownership under British rule. It was wisely decided to keep the tin mines in Government hands. The best tin in the world comes from the Straits, and brings large profits to the Government, which go to build State railroads and defray a large part of the administrative expenses. With such an example before it, the Government of India declines to hand over the oil fields of Burma to the Standard Oil Trust.

A brief review of some of the problems in the world to-day thus brings out the universal trend towards State Socialism.

VI.

Every government, in the interest of good order, must exercise its authority over trade, industry, individuals, and institutions. It enforces numerous laws—restrictive, coercive, regulative—affecting life and labor. The paternal and protective influence of the State is thrown over the workers through factory and labor laws. Such measures begin with the humanitarian restriction of the hours of labor for women and children, and enlarge as the conception of governmental functions spreads, until the limit is reached in New Zealand by the imposition of a minimum living wage and a maximum of hours for adult labor.

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In the Australasian colonies, in Denmark, and other countries, notably in Germany, there are systems of State insurance for workingmen against sickness, accident, and provision for old-age pensions to "the soldiers of the plowshare as well as the soldiers of the sword." The social insurance laws in Germany have been of incalculable national benefit—leading to the better protection of the workers, better equipment of factories, enforcing habits of thrift, and piling up huge funds which are lent for purposes of social betterment. Old-age pensions for the poor are demanded in European countries where they do not already exist.

VII.

Every State also maintains national undertakings apart from those connected with military and naval defense. No one would now suggest that the United States Government should give up the post-office, which is a truly Socialistic and communistic undertaking. The service is regulated more by social than by commercial considerations. It costs the same to convey a letter from one part of Broadway to another as from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from Mexico to the Yukon. Similarly, two cents takes a letter from one street in London to another, or from London to Australia via Vancouver.

The post-office administration is the service which lends itself best to purposes of public utility. An organization which has branches in every city, town, and village, which penetrates to the uttermost corners of a continent, is a piece of national administrative mechanism which can be of the utmost human service. To Europeans it seems a strange anomaly that a Government should carry mails and not own the telegraph systems, should deliver books by mail but not express parcels. A combined postal, telegraph, and telephone service is an example in national economy, and also, judged by the best results in Europe, of efficiency. In Great Britain every branch post-office is also a branch savings bank.

A parallel organization to that which transmits mails, parcels, and telegrams is that which handles transportation. To manage the transportation of a nation is not considered beyond the administrative power of governments. Most countries in Continental Europe have State railroads and canals. State railroads are the rule in British colonies. India and Japan possess them. Switzerland recently nationalized all its roads, France is in process of doing so, Italy is beginning, Belgium has mostly State roads, and the Government runs the steamers between Dover and Ostend. There are State roads in Sweden, Norway, Holland, Austria, Hungary, and Russia has nothing else, so far as I know. The nationalization of railroads is threatening to become within the sphere of practical politics in England.

The best and largest system of State-owned railroads is in Prussia. No doubt disparaging comparisons can be made between the Prussian roads and the great roads of America, but the same contrasts can be drawn against the privately owned lines in England in favor of America. The American railroad corporations are tremendous organizations, remarkable alike for their extent and their efficiency. But the powers of the railroad giants can be used to oppress as well as to serve, to consider personal interests rather than public needs. When the highways of a nation are in the hands of more or less irresponsible capitalists, there is always danger lurking in the background—always the fear that the sledgehammer power of concentrated wealth may be used remorselessly. State railroads are certainly susceptible to influence, have no cause to set up their authority against that of constituted government. They possess many negative qualities not to be gainsaid. In Prussia and elsewhere, under State ownership, the railroads do not oppress the traders, do not grant rebates, do not conspire with "grafters," have no preferential tariffs in favor of allied interests, no lobbyists at work on their behalf.

The development of the country, the encouragement of commerce, the convenience of the public, are the primal considerations. Monopoly is tempered with mercy. In times of drought in Australia the State railroads give freight

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at nominal rates to the squatters; in periods of trade depression in Germany the State roads grant concessions to manufacturers. The combined systems of State-owned railroads and canals in Prussia have done much to cheapen internal communication and to foster the foreign trade of the Empire. Passenger rates and freight charges are lower than in England. The stations are handsome structures, in which the public may legitimately take a pride; not hideous eyesores, as is too often the case with railroad stations in England.

The financial side of State ownership should not be lost sight of. The profit on the Prussian roads—33,302 kilometers in length—is about $140,000,000 a year. This sum exceeds by 270,000,000 marks the interest on the Prussian national debt, and is a fund from which support is drawn towards maintaining the country's magnificent system of higher technical education. Hesse, Bavaria, and other German States also own railroads, and the Imperial Government operates the lines in Alsace-Lorraine.

Prussia has embarked upon State Socialism on a larger scale than any other country. The Prussian Government is one of the chief landowners; it is the largest proprietor of forests, and has brought the art of forestry to a high state of perfection. Its State domains and forests bring a revenue of $14,000,000 a year. The State is a large owner of coal and iron mines, salt and lead mines; it runs iron and steel works, has numerous factories and workshops in connection with and for the supply of its own institutions. Its steel works and industrial establishments bring a profit of $50,000,000 a year.

The vast State and municipal undertakings in Prussia are managed by marvelously well organized administrative machinery. One must not consider that the excessive officialism, the oligarchic bureaucracy, and the military system connected with State Socialism in Germany are inseparable from it. Municipal ownership in England and State Socialism in Australia are not associated with irksome officialdom or oppressive militarism. Prussia would have its militarism and its bureaucratic, anti-democratic government were it without the State Socialism. The nationalization of undertakings no doubt strengthens the administrative mechanism, but it also enables the people to get something more out of their governmental institutions.

While Prussia leads in forestry, other nations have departments for preserving their forests, protecting and fostering tree-growing as a national asset. France comes next in Europe for its forests, which yield a revenue of a million francs a year, while the State domains produce twice as much.

France offers an object-lesson in another kind of Socialism—not so desirable as the control of public utility services. I refer to the establishment of industrial monopolies for the sole purpose of raising indirect taxation, by making consumers give more than a fair commercial profit for bad articles. Such are the tobacco and match-making monopolies in France—no doubt expedients to ease the heavy burden which militarism imposes. France draws an income of 1,400,000 francs a year from its State match factory, and 17,500,000 francs a year from its tobacco. The unpopularity of this phase of State Socialism is because of the inferior quality of the articles supplied. State ownership in France, when not made subservient to the treasury, can do better. Look at the splendid system of canals which the State maintains, and the fine main roads which another national department provides. Or take the State factory of Sèvres, where the world's choicest specimens of porcelain are produced, or the State factory of the Gobelins, where the most renowned tapestries are made. Thus the highest forms of industrial art are products of State Socialism.

Every State is concerned with the promotion of maritime commerce, one feature of which is the public ownership of docks and harbors. The only backward ports in England are those which are not under municipal or public management. It is also the common concern of States to safeguard security and give stability to finance by establishing or supervising State or National banks. In European countries and in the British colonies savings banks are also maintained by the

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State, while one of the oldest municipal institutions is the mont-de-piété, or pawnshop—the bank of the poor.

VIII.

So multifarious have become the functions of the modern State that it would be tedious to make more than a representative selection. The world has gone a long way—to touch on another aspect of governmental intervention—towards the nationalization of health. Public health officers are granted more inspectional and coercive powers, communal responsibility for the sick calls for more stringent sanitary laws, and yet much remains to be done to check the holocaust of disease among the poor and lessen the number of preventable deaths. State and municipal hospitals are almost universal in Continental Europe, and England is slowly following on the same lines.

Health resorts are regarded as public institutions. The famous mineral springs and baths of Europe are owned by States and municipalities.

In quite another direction the strong arm of the State is stretched out to protect the public. Considerations for the safety, comfort, convenience, and service of the public compel Governments which do not own railroads to exercise a growing and (in England at least) a preponderating influence in the management of the roads.

IX.

The industrial side of State Socialism has, as I have indicated, perhaps been carried farthest in the States of the Australian commonwealth and in New Zealand. It is seen to best advantage in the last-named colony, whose natural richness makes it a favorable ground for experiment. It would be much easier to say what the State does not do than what it does in New Zealand. Of course the State keeps possession of the telegraph, telephone, and express business. It is the chief landowner, carries on a large insurance and banking business, maintains registry bureaus for servants, runs farms, dairies, mines, constructs public works by groups of workingmen on co-operative lines. In the domain of industry, what the State does not run it regulates. It has established maximum hours of forty-eight per week, regulated wages, inspected "sweat-shops" out of existence, provides old-age pensions for the veterans of labor, and insurance against accident and sickness.

New Zealand is a small country, to be sure. It grows slowly but surely. It is a country where millionaires are unknown, where the poor are few, a country where extremes of wealth and poverty are made almost impossible—a real industrial commonwealth. It is prosperous and its people are happy.

Premier Seddon still seeks new fields for State Socialism, and advocates the nationalization of the coal mines to protect the colony from excessive prices, national steamships to break down a shipping ring, and he would like to open government stores in England for the sale of New Zealand mutton.

New Zealand and Prussia—the most advanced Socialist State—offer a striking contrast in method. In Prussia Socialism has been imposed on the country; in New Zealand it springs from the people. In Prussia the Government gives the people what it thinks is good for them, without seeking their opinion or obtaining their consent. In New Zealand the people decide what is best for them, and direct their Government to carry it out. In one case it is government by a bureaucratic oligarchy—a machine beyond the reach of censure or criticism, little influenced by popular opinion. In the other it is government by the broadest democracy in the world (women vote in New Zealand) through an administration always open to attack by political opponents, subject to full criticism by the people and the press, working under the fullest publicity. Socialism is succeeding under both conditions.

X.

Few people will deny that education is essentially within the province of the State. The first duty of a government is to see that the people are educated. The extent to which public instruction is carried becomes a matter for discussion. The standard of education is highest in those States—in Germany and

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Switzerland, for instance—where government schools and colleges are most general, and lowest in countries—as in Italy—where education is left more to private enterprise by pedagogues or by church organizations. Public educational institutions now exist for the training of every possible class—for mechanics, handicraftsmen, singers, artists, actors, scientists, metallurgists, laundry maids, housekeepers, nursery governesses, etc.

Education by government in Europe also includes the cultivation of the fine arts. Art, whether expressed in sculpture, painting, music, or the drama, is a delicate plant which must be trained outside the ruck of competitive civilization. It must be nurtured in conservatories and art schools—State supported and managed. Grand opera can exist successfully as the highest expression of music only when it is subsidized. In Berlin, Paris, Vienna, St. Petersburg, Brussels, Rome, grand operas are Royal or State institutions. Grand opera is not expected to be run on commercial lines any more than a Government art school or a picture gallery. Conservatories and dramatic colleges are supported for the training of artists. Without the guiding and helping hand of the State there would be no grand opera in Paris as we know it, no Théâtre Français. In all countries of Continental Europe the highest educational value is placed on dramatic art and music, and large sums are gladly spent to encourage them. Every town has its municipal theater and its orchestra and concert hall.

Opportunities to the same extent for the training of musicians and artists are unknown among English-speaking peoples. Had not Düsseldorf been able to give Schumann and Mendelssohn the directorship of its municipal orchestra, we might not have had all their masterpieces. State subsidies and ownership do not produce a Mendelssohn or a Gounod, but they encourage them and give them their opportunity. The public appreciation of music by the maintenance of theaters and concert halls marks an elevation of mind and an advance in civilization.

Dramatic art reaches its highest levels when removed from the domination of individual "stars" and lifted out of the region of commercial risk. Hence the existence of one or two State or municipal theaters in every city, so as to set the standard, and present plays which should be seen but cannot be relied upon to be commercially successful. Private enterprise is necessarily obliged to run what pays best, not what is best. To add to the intellectual wealth of a community and to elevate the public taste are the main objects of State and municipal theaters.

XI.

From the examples of Socialism in practice which I have given—representative of others which might be added—it will be seen that a prodigious amount of Socialistic work is carried on by the governments of the world. I have only incidentally touched on municipal ownership—incomparably more extensive than the Socialism of the State. Municipal ownership is becoming universal in Europe, and cities are enlarging their functions beyond the ownership and operation of public services such as gas and electricity supplies and street railways.

Under both municipal and State ownership, the administrative authorities, following on the custom of industrial combinations and large businesses, the tendency is towards abolishing intermediaries in the interest of economy or direct control. Municipalities employ a large amount of direct labor, have their own works departments, and dispense with contractors. Public authorities, it goes without saying, are model employers, setting the best standard in labor conditions.

And it should be noted that no authority has gone back on the system of public ownership once adopted, or given up by honest means undertakings which it once possessed.

It may be urged that the application of the name of Socialism to all these illustrations of governmental activities, paternalism, State and municipal ownership, direction, and supervision, is a misnomer; that the public works and collectivist industrial enterprises are managed more on commercial than Socialistic lines. Also that they leave the

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fabric of capitalism almost untouched. These arguments are open to the retort that Socialism under such conditions embodies the best of both systems. If State and municipal Socialism, as it exists in the various countries of the world, is not in harmony with Socialist ideals, it is still further removed from the old conception of individualism, *laisser faire*, State rights, and public functions. Development of public ownership will go forward, with the advance in the science of government, less on commercial lines as now understood; it will aim at conferring benefits by the kind of service rendered rather than in the amount of profit made.

London, England.

The Modern Conception of Foreign Missions

By the Rev. Sidney L. Gulick, D.D.

DURING the past fifty years the conception of foreign missions entertained by its leading advocates and most thoughtful workers has undergone profound modifications. This may be most easily described as a change of viewpoint—from the individualistic to the sociological. So widely is the modern conception of missions misunderstood that it has become a serious matter both for the kingdom of God and for civilization.

Until the middle of the nineteenth century the fundamental postulate determining the general trend of mediæval and modern reflective thought regarding man was unconsciously, but none the less frankly and narrowly, individualistic. It dominated all speculative discussions in metaphysics, politics, psychology, ethics, and religion; so much, indeed, was this the case that it profoundly controlled practical life. Each man was conceived as an independent, self-explaining, and self-existing individual. Kantian philosophy, subjective idealism, mysticism, the social contract conception as to the origin of society, the French Revolution, and the *laissez faire* doctrine of political economy, are a few of the manifestations of this universally accepted individualistic postulate. Of necessity, religious thought was also individualistic. The Lutheran, with his salvation by faith alone; the Calvinist, with his doctrine of decrees, election, and perseverance of the saints; the Methodist, with his free-will and backsliding; Federal no less than Covenantal theology—all were alike individualistic.

Inheriting Greek intellectualism, this individualistic theology led to strong emphasis on correctness of belief and accuracy of creeds; it made religion a matter of preparation for the next life; it brought into sharp relief the blessings, pains, and penalties of that life; it led to the characteristic theological conceptions of that period, such as those of God as an individual, of the atonement as a transaction between individuals, and of salvation as a matter of individual action. Individualistic theology determined the conceptions both of the world and of the church, the one a place of contamination, the other the instrument for getting men out of the world, saving them one by one.

It was, therefore, natural, nay inevitable, that when the missionary enterprise was started at the beginning of the nineteenth century, Christian thought in regard to the function and nature of foreign missions should be individualistic. The heathen were thought to be individually in danger of eternal damnation, and this because they have no knowledge of the true God and the true creed. Foreign missions must be established and maintained to teach these doctrines. The heathen, like all other men, will be saved if only they accept correct creeds in regard to the true and only God.

During the past fifty years, however, this individualistic tendency has been displaced in all departments of thought—at least among progressive thinkers. A

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mode of thought has arisen which for want of a better name is commonly called socialistic or sociological. The individualistic postulate is seen to be wholly inadequate. A man is also a member of society. The individual apart from his society is an abstraction, an unreal being, impossible in fact and inconceivable in theory. Man must be thought of sociologically. The individual and society are two inseparable aspects of man's nature, neither of which must be either ignored or over-emphasized. Either extreme gives an unreal thing and plunges both theory and life into difficulty. The real entity is not the individual separately nor society separately, but the individual in society or the society as composed of individuals. The individual comes into being physically, mentally, and morally through the society. At the same time, society consists of individuals. To know man we must study the individual through his society, and society through the individuals that compose it. We must know how society dominates and controls the whole life of its individual members, and yet we must also see how aggressive, creative individuals modify social organization and transform social activity. Individual and social welfare also are inseparable. Social and individual progress, decay, evolution, degeneration, and regeneration are inseparable in fact, and must be related in theory for a true understanding of man's real nature. Society and the individual are the two inseparable poles of human nature.

This sociological view of man has profoundly transformed political science, political economy, psychology, ethics, and has even introduced new methods of approach to metaphysics. Not theory only, but life also, has been modified. Even individual good cannot be attained except in society. Life is worth living only in society. Civilization, industry, art, literature, philosophy—are all social products. The great movement called social democracy which is sweeping through Europe and America is one of the outstanding politico-industrial manifestations of this new mode of thought.

Social science shows that primitive society is always and everywhere so strongly communalistic that the right and value of the individual are entirely ignored. Individualism is an intermediate stage of social evolution. Many factors have contributed to its rise, an important one being the increasing size of the growing community. The means of common knowledge became inadequate, and the feeling of common interests and responsibility broke down. In Europe individualism has been dominant for a thousand years and more. All the principal forms of governmental, legal, industrial, and economic organization have become completely individualistic. Modern society has, however, developed new means of intercommunication and knowledge through the appliances of steam and electricity, and with these a new sense of common interests has begun to take possession of men. Many of the modern evils of society are seen to be due to excessive individualism. Modern society, with its highly developed industrial organization, makes possible as never before this excessive individualism, and at the same time it is bringing to clear consciousness the need both of some check to individualism and also of the development of a new communal organization which, while it secures the benefits of the old communalism, also gives full room to the individual, with all the benefits of and incentives to development afforded by the individualistic form of society. It is not too much to say that all the problems of modern society, political, economic, and industrial, center right here.

Religion, of course, has not escaped the influence of this rising sociological conception of man. Theology and life have both been deeply affected. The doctrine of the kingdom of God as a present fact to be realized here in this world is one such modification. Emphasis on religion as a present life rather than as a preparation for a future world, and as including man's social, industrial, political, and other relations with man, as well as his true relations with God, is another such modification. This has introduced profound changes in theological thought—regarding God and Christ, sin, salvation, and atonement, heaven and hell, and heathen and Christian.

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Emphasis of religious teaching has been transferred from correct belief and logical creeds to correct life and kindly deeds.

With this changing emphasis have sprung up new forms of religious activity—the institutional church, the Salvation Army, the Young Men's Christian Association, social settlements, rescue homes, summer excursions for city poor, and countless special benevolences in times of fire, famine, and pestilence.

While many Christians have favored these modern methods of religious activity, others have observed with great solicitude the changes taking place in old doctrines, little noting the sociological ground-swell which is necessitating these doctrinal changes and little appreciating the great gains to practical religion resulting from this larger and deeper view of man. Even yet multitudes of earnest Christians look with profound dissatisfaction on the newer forms of theological statement.

Modern conceptions of pagan religions, of heathen peoples, and of the function of world-wide Christian missions have also of necessity undergone corresponding changes. Progressive Christians recognize and rejoice in these newer conceptions of missionary work. The significance of the missionary enterprise is manifestly deepened and its value increased by this modern viewpoint. The missionary is now seen to be not merely saving a few individuals from the general wreck of the pagan world, but planting a new life which will transform that world and bring it into the kingdom of God. He is teaching men how to live here and now in accord with the teachings of Christ, and making it possible not only for individuals, but also for communities, for tribes, and even for nations, increasingly to approach Christ's lofty ideals for both individuals and society.

But this conception of Christian work in so-called non-Christian lands is in fundamental accord with the new conception of the present problems confronting the Church in so-called Christian lands. For centuries the Church has been almost exclusively engaged in saving individuals. We have not had Christ's idea of the kingdom of God—we have not tried to Christianize society. This Christianization is the present task and problem for the Church. Christ must be made King in our organized life as communities, and thus society be saved, even as he has been made Saviour of individuals and individuals have been saved. The failure of the Church in this task is one of the causes of stumbling to-day to men whose eyes are open to the facts of modern life.

Of course it is as possible to become radically and one-sidedly socialistic as to become radically and one-sidedly individualistic, and such radicalism brings equal disaster to life and thought. In politics and industry many have fallen into this error, and we have, as a result, radical socialism. Others have carried the socialistic element of thought to an extreme in religion, and we have religion simmered down to "ethics tinged with emotion" in one branch, and in another to mere efforts for social reform.

If sociological thinking has run to extremes in these other lines of thought, it would not be strange were there doctrinaires in regard to the nature and function of foreign missions. And such, as a matter of fact, is the case. With them the religious element is entirely dropped out. The true aim and only proper work of missions is, according to their view, international mediation and efforts for social betterment by exclusively educational and civilizational influences. Such a conception of missions rests, however, on a one-sided view of man. He is an individual as well as a socius. He is both finite and infinite. Valid and valuable thought concerning his life and activity, his formation and reformation, must always include both poles of his being. It is because of his dual nature that man is "incurably religious." And religion finds man at his deepest points. In the final analysis it is religion that gives the tone to his whole life and affords the strongest motives to his conduct. The secret of the sociological value of foreign missions lies just here—in its unalterably ethico-religious motive and effort. Foreign missions bring men of alien races to a common thought of God and the world, of life and of mankind. They

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bring men to a sympathetic and mutually intelligible standpoint at the deepest levels of their being. As a matter of fact, foreign missions have never been carried on, and probably never can be successfully carried on, aside from the religious motives operative alike among givers and goers. It is extremely questionable if anything less than a religious motive and a religious life could secure such influence over alien peoples as to modify their civilizations and fundamentally transform their lives.

What does this mean? It means that mere utilitarian motives, even sociologically and interracially conceived, are insufficient for the work in view. Only when the inherent and infinite value—that is to say, the Christian religious value—of the individual is appreciated, and his relations to God are seen to be fundamental in his own individual being and in his social relations, do motives emerge strong enough to produce the missionary able to maintain his own purpose throughout life and able also to persuade those to whom he goes, leading them to a like religious view with himself.

Considered still more carefully, this means that Christian missions hold fast at their core the essential factor of individualism. Society exists by means of and for the sake of the individual. An improved society arises by improved individuals, and it in turn makes possible on a wider scale an improved type of manhood. Any sociological interpretation of man, of religion, or of missions which altogether drops out the individual must be pronounced not only one-sided, but absolutely unworkable. The older view of missions which was conscious of individualistic aims alone must be pronounced nearer the essential truth than a sociological view, falsely so called, which ignores these. The newer, well-balanced sociological conception of foreign missions is one which, while it does not forget man's individual nature and value, does emphasize strongly the thought that only as society is transformed with the individual is the individual fully saved. Foreign missions in all their activities aim at the double purpose of saving both individuals and society—the establishment of the kingdom of God through the production of children of God each of whom contributes to all and all to each.

It would be a mistake to suppose, as perhaps might be inferred from the foregoing discussion, that foreign missions first took on sociological forms of work and international value only after and because of the rise of sociological conceptions of man. On the contrary, although foreign missions started from a frankly individualistic theory of religion and salvation, the actual work was from the start practical and sociological. It would be truer to say that Christian thought in regard to foreign missions has become sociological through observation of and reflection on what missions were actually doing than through the rise of sociological speculation along other lines of thought. Practice has preceded theory, as it always does in the large. It is probably safe to say that the sociological conception of the function and value of foreign missions is more due to missionary experience than to the general sociological trend of modern science.

Such in briefest outline is the modern conception of foreign missions. It is widely held by intelligent pastors, secretaries of our mission boards, and missionaries. But, being modern, it is still unfortunately misunderstood by large numbers of Christians, and wholly unknown to all who have no close connection with the modern missionary work. They are, it is true, out of sympathy with the older individualistic, saving-a-brand-out-of-the-burning theory of foreign missions; but they fancy that that is the exclusive motive still controlling missionary work, and they therefore look down on it with pity or disdain. The evil consequences of this ignorance and misapprehension are many. The splendid international and sociological results of foreign missions are unknown to them; that work is, therefore, seriously limited to-day for lack of funds which would be largely forthcoming were its true character and value generally recognized and understood by Christian "laymen."

It is accordingly of great importance,

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not only to the work itself, but also to the cause of international good will and the wholesome evolution of both Christian and non-Christian peoples, that pastors in America and England should familiarize themselves and their people with this modern sociological conception of the nature and value of foreign missions.

The Essentials of Christianity[1]

By William De Witt Hyde

President of Bowdoin College

THERE are two essentials of Christianity. The first is a reverent recognition of One Great Good Will, which has its way for every word we speak and every deed we do. This Will takes many forms to meet the varying circumstances of life—kindness, patience, modesty, charity, honesty, truth, pity, cheerfulness, temperance, courage, and the like. The man who tries to observe them all as different phases and expressions of the One Good Will has the first of the two essentials of Christianity.

The second essential of Christianity is the democratic attitude toward other people. To fall short of the democratic attitude toward the humblest and worst of our fellow-men is to fall out of the reverent attitude toward the Great Good Will, which includes the welfare of the lowest equally with the highest, of the worst no less than the best. Reproof and punishment may be the best thing for the bad man. But it must be administered in love for him as the best thing which, under the circumstances, we can give him, else we have no part or lot in the Great Good Will, who maketh his sun to shine on the good and the evil, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust.

The spirit of democracy in actual practice has to be qualified by common sense. We have limitations of time, strength, sympathy, training, and occupation, and these limitations inevitably restrict the circle of those we love and serve. But such shortcomings are forgiven by the Good Will to whom our infirmities are known. Limitations self-imposed by our pride and superciliousness the Good Will cannot forgive.

Censoriousness is the most unpardonable of sins; the lowest depth of anti-Christianity to which a soul can sink. The spiritual aristocrat, which is the modern name for Pharisee, the man who finds other people unworthy of his esteem and love, by that aristocratic attitude excludes himself from heaven and takes his seat in hell.

Though the reverent attitude toward the Universal Good Will and the democratic attitude toward all men, however lowly and however bad, as objects of the One Good Will, together constitute the two essentials of Christianity—two that are so inseparable that they are really one—yet other truths and duties follow from them as their natural consequences.

Indeed, from these two principles all Christian doctrine and all religious duties can be logically deduced. Every theological question gets a self-evident and transparent answer from the point of view of these two truths.

Is Jesus Christ the divine Son of God and the Saviour of the world? Yes. Because in precept and example, in life and death, he was implicitly obedient to the Great Good Will, and included the lowliest and worst in his sympathy and service. Measured by these essential tests, Jesus stands forth as supremely divine.

Is there a Holy Spirit? Yes. For there have been and are to-day countless men and women who have reverence toward the Great Good Will and democratic sympathy toward their fellows as the attitude and spirit of their lives.

Is the Bible inspired? Yes. For its contents were produced, selected, sifted, and preserved by the spirit of reverence

[1] Abstract of an address delivered at State Conference of Congregational Churches at Gardiner, Maine, Wednesday, September 27, 1905.

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to the Great Good Will and helpful service of humble human need.

Is prayer answered? Yes. For every man who really wants this twofold gift of reverence toward the Good Will and democratic comradeship with men can have it; and no man gets it who does not earnestly want it and practically ask for it.

Are we saved by the sacrifice of Christ? Yes. For no man, from Christ to his humblest disciple, can do the Good Will and try really to serve others without suffering the enmity and hate of the selfish and sinful, with whose schemes the just and generous Christian man is bound to interfere.

Do all men need conversion? Yes. For it is not natural or easy to make the Good Will for all our fellow-men the principle of conduct; and no man is a Christian until that principle is consciously accepted and adopted as the spirit and purpose of his life.

What is the basis of church-membership? Fellowship with Christ in the effort to translate the Great Good Will for all men into personal life, and the life of the community.

What is preaching? Simply the proclamation of the Good Will, and the pointing out of opportunities for its practical application. Preaching that sticks close to these two points is eloquent and powerful, and fills the pews. Preaching and public worship that miss these essentials are empty, and empty the church.

What amusements are legitimate? Any and all that tend to bring people together and help them to enjoy themselves and each other in mutual friendliness.

Who is the Christian minister, and what is his call? The man who sees clearly what the Great Good Will would have men do and be, and feels able to point out to men the way to enter and enjoy this life of love to God and man. The moment we can make clear to young men that this is what the ministry means, we shall have plenty of strong, earnest, honest, effective ministers.

What will become of missions? As a means of saving the heathen from future punishment by offering our creeds, our rites, our forms of organization, the missionary cause is already dead. The opportunity to infuse into their traditions and customs the spirit of reverence for the One Good Will, and sympathy for all men, makes missions the supreme duty of the present, and the promise of a better, richer, more diversified, and more comprehensive Christianity than the world has ever seen.

What forms of social service does essential Christianity inspire? Whatever makes children healthy and happy—playgrounds, clubs, social gatherings, classes for instruction; whatever makes homes happier, and neighbors better friends—lectures, settlement work, village improvement, libraries, reading circles; whatever better cares for the poor, the sick, the aged, and rightly corrects the criminal—hospitals, visitors, charities, good government: all these things a vital Christianity secures, either directly through the church organization, or perhaps better through separate efforts which the Christian spirit in the hearts of the people develops and supports.

A year ago the bishop of a sister Church in his official address said: "One of the saddest and most noticeable features of the religious life of the State of Maine is the failure of the Congregational Church. It is uncertain in its Gospel message. It has no creed. It is abandoning the old-fashioned confessions of faith, and now floats along at the mercy of its pastors, many of whom are more Unitarian than orthodox, if their faith is measured by the old standards."

We are very grateful to the bishop for this frank diagnosis of our case; but we should be more ready to adopt his remedies if we did not read, in the same official publication which contains his address, that after a century or two of labor in the province and State of Maine the Episcopal Church has been able to bring only thirteen churches in the entire State up to even such a moderate measure of success as is involved in financial self-support.

It is not a new creed nor an old-fashioned confession that we want. Still less do we require any such anchor for floating pastors as that proposed in the

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last pastoral letter of the Episcopal Bishops, in which Churchmen of all grades who are troubled with honest doubts about what the Church considers "fundamental verities" were given the counsel to "be silent or withdraw." One would like to be informed how any error whatsoever could ever be eliminated from a Church whose officers should obey such instructions. No. These are not the remedies for our disease, however desperate it be. What our churches need, and what all churches need, is to place the passion for the doing of God's good will toward every person so clearly in the foreground of our religious life that all teachings that are true and all institutions that are useful shall stand transparent in its radiant light, and all that is incredible in ancient creeds and untenable in current tenets may be consumed by its fervent heat.

The Creed of Christ[1]

THE first of these volumes is conservative in its theology and conventional in its method; the second is radical in its theology and original in its method: the first shows a minute knowledge of the books of the New Testament, but not that kind of vital understanding of the spirit of the Great Teacher which only a poetic temperament could give; the second is imbued with a sincere admiration and an ethical and literary appreciation of the Great Teacher, but lacks accurate acquaintance with the documents on which we are dependent for our knowledge of him and his teaching.

Mr. Lancaster considers the teaching of Jesus Christ under ordinary theological divisions, such as God, Satan, Sin, Punishment, etc. Under each of these heads he collates the texts from the New Testament containing Christ's reported utterances on them respectively. He makes little or no attempt at either criticism or interpretation. He assumes the verbal and infallible accuracy of the report in every case; makes no allowance for possible coloring in the report; makes no attempt to distinguish in his quotations from the Fourth Gospel between Christ's words and John's comments upon them; furnishes no background and little or no account of Jewish life or thought. He may be familiar with the Oriental temperament, and with the Hebraic habits, customs, and modes of thought, but he gives no indication of such familiarity. He certainly is not familiar with modern habits of thought. He says that "when evolution takes any account of God at all, it places him at the beginning of an almost infinite series, too far away to be taken into account or to be of any practical use;" and declares of it that it says "sin has no guilt, for it is only a remnant of mere animal tendencies." This author, we judge, has never read Dr. McCosh, or Henry Drummond, or Professor Le Conte, or, indeed, any one of the numerous writers to whom evolution is a description of the method of work of an immanent God, who is All and in all. His volume is careful, painstaking, conscientious, but without insight or imagination, and so without literary quality. It is little more than a collection of uninterpreted Scriptural texts classified theologically.

There is much that is true, beautiful, and even spiritually eloquent in the interpretation of the teaching of Christ contained in the second of the volumes before us; it is a great pity that it is so seriously marred by the author's extraordinary ignorance concerning the teaching of the modern Christian Church and the ancient Jewish Church. For example:

> What were the fundamental ideas that dominated Christ's thought, that influenced his will, and shaped his life? It is time that we who call ourselves Christians should begin to ask ourselves these questions. For nineteen centuries we have steadily averted our eyes from them. What has interested us hitherto has been, not what Christ believed about God and Man and the Universe, but what we ought to believe about the personal

[1] *The Creed of Christ.* By the Rev. Richard Venable Lancaster. The Presbyterian Committee of Publication, Richmond, Va.
The Creed of Christ. John Lane, New York.

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relation of Christ to God and Man and the Universe.

We wonder as we read these sentences from the author's introductory chapter where he has been going to church, or whether he has been going anywhere, and what modern literature he has read, or whether he has read any. Has he ever heard of "Ecce Homo," or Tolstoy's "My Religion," or Sears's "The Heart of Christ," or Stalker's "Imago Christi," or Peyton's "Memorabilia of Jesus," or any of the scores of lives of Jesus—Renan's, or Geikie's, or Farrar's, or Weiss's, or Dawson's. These books, only a few out of a host of modern volumes of like aim, are wholly devoted to a consideration of what Christ believed about God, Man, and the Universe, or to a consideration of what were the fundamental ideas that dominated his thought, influenced his will, and shaped his life. Of modern sermons an overwhelming preponderance are devoted to an interpretation of the teachings of Jesus Christ. About the Roman Catholic confessional we cannot speak with authority, but we have always supposed that it was devoted chiefly to questions of Christian casuistry, that is, to an exposition of the Church's interpretation of Christ's teaching. If the author had said that too much attention has been paid to a discussion of the metaphysical relation of Jesus Christ to God and too little to the plain and simple teachings of Jesus Christ, or if he had said that Christians have shown too much zeal in their endeavor to convert each other to their respective ways of thinking about Christ and too little zeal in an endeavor to maintain the spirit and act upon the principles of Jesus Christ in their daily lives, he would have said what hundreds of orthodox preachers have said before him. But his statement would have gained in truth what it lost in sensationalism.

Nor is he much more accurate in his interpretation of the religion of Israel. If his prejudices do not allow him to learn anything from churchmen's interpretations of the Old Testament, such as Driver's "Deuteronomy," George Adam Smith's "Isaiah," and Bruce's "Apologetics," he might, one would think, have gotten a more correct understanding of the religion of Israel from a mere reading of Israel's religious books—that is, the Old Testament. For example, put side by side these interpretations of the religion of Israel afforded by our author, and the faith of Israel as interpreted by its own prophets:

Israel debarred himself at the outset from seeking for God in his own soul.—*The Creed of Christ.*

This commandment which I command thee this day, it is not hidden from thee, neither is it afar off. It is not in heaven, that thou shouldest say, Who shall go up for us to heaven, and bring it unto us, that we may hear it, and do it? Neither is it beyond the sea, that thou shouldest say, Who shall go over the sea for us, and bring it unto us that we may hear it, and do it? But the word is very nigh unto thee, in thy mouth, and in thy heart, that thou mayest do it.—*Deuteronomy.*

Neither in the outer world, nor in the inner life of man, was the God of whom Israel dreamed to be sought for. Where, then, was his dwelling-place? Not in Nature, as Israel would have understood the word if he had ever thought of using it; but in the world above Nature, in the world to which Christian theology has given the name supernatural.—*The Creed of Christ.*

For thus saith the high and lofty One that inhabiteth eternity, whose name is Holy; I dwell in the high and holy place, with him also that is of a contrite and humble spirit, to revive the spirit of the humble, and to revive the heart of the contrite ones.—*Isaiah.*

According to our author, Israel believed in the Fall; the Hebrew prophets never mention the Fall, never connect the story of Eden with the sin of mankind. According to our author, Israel believed in the total depravity of man; the Hebrew prophets declared that man was made in God's image, and all their teaching concerning man and his place in the universe and his relation to God was based on that postulate. According to our author, Israel believed that material Nature is wholly evil, and "was a failure from the outset." The Hebrew prophets declared that God looked upon it at the outset and declared that it was very good; they repeatedly affirmed its essential and continued goodness; they said that the heavens proclaimed his glory and the firmament showed his handiwork; in Nature, which is his temple, "everything," says the Hebrew psalmist, "saith 'Glory.'" Our author affirms that Israel

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waged perpetual war against freedom in the name and for the honor of the supernatural God. In fact, the Hebrew prophet's conception of the law of liberty was that which the author describes as his own: "The freedom of man is entirely compatible with the paramount and all-pervading control of God, so long as God is conceived of as (under one of his manifestations) the spirit that dwells in man's heart: for in the light of that conception, constraint by the Divine Will is seen to be equivalent to constraint by one's own higher and better self; and to be self-constrained is obviously to be free." What is this but saying in the language of philosophy what the Hebrew Psalmist said in the language of experience:

> The law of the Lord is perfect,
> Converting the soul;
> The testimony of the Lord is sure,
> Making wise the simple;
> The statutes of the Lord are right,
> Rejoicing the heart;
> The commandment of the Lord is pure,
> Enlightening the eyes.

Belief in an external God and an artificial righteousness is the instinctive belief of undeveloped man. This is not, what our author miscalls it, atheism; it is paganism. To supplant this instinctive and erroneous belief with faith in a living and ever-present God, and with a righteousness which is fellowship with him, and identity of will, not merely enforced submission of will, was the purpose of the Hebrew prophets. This is the message of Israel to the world. This instinctive and superstitious belief against which they waged a perpetual war is very well described by our author. "The paramount desire," says he, "of the average man is to be saved, in defiance of Nature's deepest and widest law, by obedience instead of by growth. He wishes to gain God's favor by obeying literally and mechanically his formulated commandments instead of by fulfilling his own spiritual destiny; or, in other words, by growing towards the perfection of which he is capable—growing in response to the persistent stress of inward and spiritual forces analogous to those which transmute the seed into the sapling and the sapling into the tree."

To the "average man" entertaining this notion of religion came the Hebrew prophets with their message that God is in his world, that he is a righteous God, that he demands righteousness of his children and demands nothing else and will accept nothing less, and that this righteousness to be acceptable must be real—that is, a righteousness of the spirit, not one of literal and mechanical obedience to an external rule. This teaching was implied in the first clear and definite formulation of the divine law—that afforded by the Ten Commandments; for they culminated in the law, Thou shalt not covet—that is, not only, Thou shalt not steal, kill, commit adultery, and bear false witness, but Thou shalt not desire so to do. This message was supplemented by the later prophets with the important addition that God would help men to the righteousness which he required of them; that he would forgive the sins and failures of their past, and inspire them with strength and courage for their future.

The Old Testament is the history of the development of this religious faith in the history of a peculiar people. To understand it the student must first free his mind from the later theologies of the Greek and Roman mind, which our author has especially failed to do. Then he must remember three things: (1) That the Old Testament is the history of the spiritual development of the "average man," and therefore contains an account of his conceptions as well as of the messages given for the purpose of correcting them; (2) that the prophets belonged to their times, and shared, in some measure, misapprehensions from which they were endeavoring to emancipate both themselves and their people; and (3) that one effective method of developing a spiritual and intelligent obedience to the laws of Nature is by compelling, temporarily, obedience to artificial law imposed by rewards and penalties from without, as a mother requires her children to go to bed at half-past seven that she may train them to a habit of adequate sleep such as Nature requires.

Bearing these principles in mind—all of them essential principles of the doctrine of evolution which our author thinks he believes in, but which in fact he

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scornfully repudiates—it is easy to see that the New Testament is the consummation of the Old Testament, not an antithesis to it. The creed of Christ was not essentially different from that of the later prophets, especially the Second Isaiah, Micah, Hosea, and Jonah. When he was asked what were the chief commandments of the law, Christ did not repudiate them; he went to the Old Testament law book, and there found the two supreme laws of love to God and man. When accused by his enemies of doing that for which our author praises him—controverting the message of Israel—he replied that he came not to destroy but to fulfill it. The laws of righteousness in the Sermon on the Mount do not repeal the earlier Mosaic code, they are spiritual interpretations of it. The new commandment, That ye love one another as I have loved you, is not a substitute for the Levitical law, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself, but its divine consummation. The parable of the Prodigal Son is an amplification and application of the declaration of the Hebrew psalmist, "Like as a father pitieth his children, so the Lord pitieth them that fear him." And if it is true, as perhaps it is, that the Christian Church has spent too much time and energy in discussing the relation of Christ to God, Man, and the Universe, the excuse, if not the justification, is to be found in its profound faith that the Incarnation is the historical consummation of the truth which underlay the whole teaching of the ancient Hebrew prophets and the whole religion of Israel, that God made man in his own image.

The author has made an interesting book; but he has made it by confounding Hebraism with Pharisaism; by forgetting that Jesus Christ was a Jew—the reformer, not the repudiator, of the religion of his people; its spiritual interpreter, and so its defender, not its enemy.

Materialism vs. Spiritualism[1]

PRESENT limits restrict attention to the latter half of this volume, confining it to the chapters on general problems and theories. These introduce us to the two contradictory theories of the universe on which thinking men divide, Materialism and Spiritualism, the latter term being taken in a philosophic, not the popular, sense. Materialism affirms that consciousness is a function of the body, a product of material elements, perishing with the physical organism; spiritualism affirms the contrary. The examination to which Professor Hyslop subjects their competing claims as adequate theories of existence constitutes the core of his work. His main interest appears to be in an impartial bringing out of the full strength of each view. Materialism can fairly contend that "nature seems more careless of consciousness than of matter. What is highest in our moral nature in the present life is apparently held in an inferior estimate by the cosmos. This situation is a fact showing one half of the present order quite rational, and the other half just as irrational. If a future life be a fact, then the whole system appears rational;" but this hypothesis materialism rejects. For spiritualism appears the fact that physical analysis, by reducing matter to immaterial elements, has destroyed the old antithesis between "matter" and "spirit," and revealed a condition of things that involves the possibility of discarnate existence. The actuality of this is the open question, the *crux* of which is whether evidence can be shown of the continuity of consciousness apart from its material organism. But this is a scientific rather than a philosophic problem, Professor Hyslop's solution of which has been presented in his "Science and a Future Life."

From the comparison of these contradictory theories, in which an underlying sympathy with spiritualism is manifest, though designedly unpronounced, Professor Hyslop goes on to discuss the existence of God. Here scientific caution and reserve are dominant, though

[1] *Problems of Philosophy, or Principles of Epistemology and Metaphysics.* By James Hervey Hyslop, Ph.D., LL.D. The Macmillan Co., New York.

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with an evident inclination toward the theistic conception of the divine immanence in the cosmic process. But "to give this any spiritual character at all" he contends that we must "find explicit evidence that consciousness cannot be explained by brain activity alone." The popular theology assumes an abrupt chasm between "matter" and "spirit." But the chasm no longer exists. So has physical analysis spiritualized what we call matter that there is no more use for the word, except that by its associations it "can best perpetuate the scientific spirit and a rational continuity with the past saner efforts of man to understand the universe." Neither are there, says Professor Hyslop, "any but reasons of association for using the term 'spirit' at all." This may be granted if moral conceptions are recognized as associated with "spirit" but not with "matter."

In short, so has science spiritualized the current gross conception of "matter" that, in Professor Hyslop's view, the debate between materialism and spiritualism is now narrowed to the single point of a future life for consciousness, while on this point, determinable, as his former book contends, only by psychical research, hangs satisfactory proof of the being of God.

Such, in brief, is the gist of Professor Hyslop's argument, or rather, one should say, his statement—a statement, however, that has the force of an argument. It will not fully commend itself to philosophic thinkers in general. To them Professor Hyslop, in his attitude toward the common belief in immortality and in God, will seem like a man facing a cloud-capped mountain peak, who will not believe that the converging sides meet at the top until the cloud disperses and he sees them meet. Be it so: the value of an argument depends on the persons it addresses. Professor Hyslop seems to address himself to a large group like-minded with himself in his opinion that philosophy is helpless and worthless for solving the crucial problem of immortality. Indeed, he does not hesitate to accuse philosophy of yielding to the pressure of religious intolerance by a gymnastic play that compromises both its "intelligence and honesty." "Turning up the nose and screaming when some one uses the word 'materialism' sympathetically will neither eliminate the problem indicated nor justify and elucidate the higgledy-piggledy phrases with which the idealist mystifies science and pacifies religion." These are not exactly the "faithful wounds" of a friend, but the unselfish philosopher can afford to ignore this undignified treatment in view of the fact that Professor Hyslop is really fighting on his side. Thus, viewing Professor Hyslop's work as essentially an argument *ad hominem*, its apologetic value on the side of a spiritual theory of the universe should be frankly recognized even by those who most regret its limitations.

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Comment on Current Books

Amy in Acadia. By Helen Leah Reed. Illustrated. Little, Brown & Co., Boston. $1.50.

We fear Amy would have been wearying as a guide, philosopher, and friend, even in romantic Acadia. The author manages, with indifferent skill, to convey much information for the benefit of young readers—that is, if they do not rebel at Amy.

Book of Ecclesiastes (The): A New Metrical Translation. By Paul Haupt, LL.D. The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore. 50c.

Professor Haupt's edition of this puzzling but fascinating book will be appreciated both by the critical scholar and by any intelligent reader. Of the two opinions about it—the one that it is by a single hand balancing a lower and a higher view of human experience, as in Tennyson's poem "The Two Voices," the other that it is by more than one hand, and presents the author's pessimistic view with modifications and corrections by editors—Professor Haupt prefers the latter. Assigning its date to the second century B.C., he thinks that it "must have been" written by a Sadducee, a physician residing in Jerusalem, after whose death it was edited and published by his friends, and subsequently taken up by orthodox Pharisee editors, who interpolated it, and secured its recognition as a canonical book in 90 A.D. Dr. Haupt presents it with critical notes in a new and rhythmical English translation, a highly valuable companion to the popular versions. The genuine portions and the various additions to it, as discriminated by Dr. Haupt, are made sufficiently distinct. The book has the additional merit of being both handsome and inexpensive.

Cherry Ribband (The). By S. R. Crockett. Illustrated. A. S. Barnes & Co., New York. $1.50.

This romance is full of charm and vigor. The heroine, Ivie Rysland, daughter of a captain under the king, learns to know something of the Puritans and their strange notions, through her dawning love for the renegade son of a Cameronian household. Their fortunes are involved, and, after many thrilling experiences, happiness rewards their faithfulness. The story shows the author at his best.

Child's Garden of Verses (A). By Robert Louis Stevenson. Illustrated. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $2.50.

The publishers have made a judicious and, indeed, almost ideal selection of the artist to illustrate Stevenson's ever-pleasing verses for children. Both the pictures in color and those in black and white are alive with child character and child life in action and in repose. Time has demonstrated beyond question that children themselves love these poems. This edition, in decorative plan, in typography, and in every detail, is distinctly fine; it would be difficult to imagine a piece of holiday book-making which might be more complete and perfect.

Church and the Times (The): Sermons. By Rev. Robert Francis Coyle, D.D. A. C. Armstrong & Son, New York. $1.50.

Of Dr. Coyle's sermon before the Presbyterian Assembly in 1904 The Outlook said that nothing like it had been heard in the Assembly for many a year. That discourse on "The Church and the Times" stands first in the present collection, which, as a whole, is virile in tone and quickening in effect. Dr. Coyle interprets Christianity in terms of spirit and life, not in terms of dogma, whose shackles he endeavors to loosen, though in so doing he occasionally thinks it wise to throw a tub to the whale, and in his zeal for socializing religion even blacklists socialism along with "anarchism and pandemonium." An apology for the British spelling of such words as vigor, ardor, candor, with the French *u*, which is becoming a fad among us, may be found in the fact that the book was printed in England.

Country Day by Day (The). By E. Kay Robinson. Illustrated. Henry Holt & Co., New York. $1.75, net.

One is attracted at the outset by the beautiful typographical form of this book and the really charming photographs by which it is illustrated. On dipping into the text we find the book equally pleasing in its close intimacy with nature, the additions it affords to our actual knowledge of out-of-doors, and its real and true sympathy with plant and animal life. In more than one respect the author reminds one of Thoreau. He notices in detail day by day throughout the year every growth of flower and tree life and every new development of the activity of birds and beasts. But this is not a dry record of events; it has poetic and pleasing feeling; and it is one of the great merits of the book that this appreciation of nature is never allowed to degenerate into sentimentalism.

Dictionary of Saintly Women. By Agnes B. C. Dunbar. In 2 vols. Vol. II. The Macmillan Co., New York. $4.

This is quite complete for women who have been beatified or canonized by the Church of Rome. Their biographies, with the legends pertaining thereto, have been collected with loving carefulness. Of saintly women whom the Church has not authoritatively pronounced to be such, as Monica, the mother of Augustine, Anthusa, the mother of Chrysostom, and such modern types as Elizabeth Fry, it makes no record.

Drawings. By A. B. Frost. Verse by Wallace Irwin. Fox, Duffield & Co. $3.

Mr. Frost's drawings of country life and outdoor sports, hunting, fishing, automobiling, golf, are inimitable. He seizes a crucial moment in the experiences of his subjects, and portrays it so significantly that any explanatory text is an impertinence. His humor is always good-natured, but none the

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less keen. The drawings are effectively reproduced in large size.

Dorrance Domain (The). By Carolyn Wells. Illustrated. The W. A. Wilde Co., Boston. $1.50.
A story of youthful business enterprise. The Dorrances, unable to rent their hotel, decide to open it for their own outing; they so manage affairs as to make some profit and replenish the depleted family exchequer.

Egypt, Burma, and British Malaysia. By William Eleroy Curtis. Fleming H. Revell Co., New York. $2, net.
To Mr. Curtis's interesting volumes on South America, Turkey, Syria, and India is now added a work of very wide range, comprising comment upon Egypt, Burma, and British Malaysia. Made up from the material gathered on the same tour concerning which Mr. Curtis's book on India was written, it contains, like that volume, a great mass of valuable information. British readers in particular will take pride in perusing what Mr. Curtis has to say concerning the redemption of the Sudan, where, as in the neighboring Egypt, colonial administration seems to be achieving a signal triumph. Like the Philippine Islands, what the Sudan most needs is capital for the development of its enormous natural riches. This provided, the encouraging attitude of the natives should assure the future. Once distrustful and suspicious because the Mullahs—the Muslim religious dignitaries—told them that the Government schools would teach the Christian religion to their children, they have now learned by experience that there is no such danger. To-day the Sudanese are calling for schools for which teachers cannot be found in sufficient number. Mr. Curtis's book is full of such noteworthy facts as the above, and its reading will amply repay any one interested in either the ancient or the modern development of the countries treated.

England and Holland of the Pilgrims (The). By the Late Henry Martyn Dexter, D.D., LL.D., and his Son Morton Dexter. Illustrated. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston. $3.50, net.
The history of the Mayflower "Pilgrims" is an important part of the history of the Protestant Reformation in England, begun in the sixteenth century, in the seventeenth arrested in England, and there still incomplete, but continued in colonial England by emigrants, of whom the Pilgrims were the leaders, a forlorn hope, victorious in the end. Their most eminent historian was the late Dr. Dexter. The present volume, left unfinished at his death, completes their history by a full account of the environment and experience in which the reforming movement slowly struggled and groped toward the decisive venture, by which the door was opened at Plymouth Rock to its great success. The chapters on "The England of Our Fathers," picturing its backward social conditions, cannot fail to interest any reader. Of special value to all students is the impartial record of the literary conflicts of the reformers, the battles of pamphlets and books between the progressives and conservatives. Of this literature Dr. Dexter had accumulated a unique collection, now in the Yale library. It demonstrates a deeper origin of Puritanism than in objections to ecclesiastical millinery—a moral repugnance to a compromise with Roman Catholicism enforced by despotic power. As in England so in Holland, then the only asylum of religious freedom in Europe—a partial one at that, as the warfare of Calvinists upon Arminians sadly shows—the local environment, social and political, is amply described, and the slow working out through experience of the Pilgrims' ideal of a free church. The historical setting of this development may seem needlessly ample. The prominence of "Elder" Brewster in the Plymouth Colony may justify devoting an instructive chapter to "William Brewster and University Life"—mainly the latter (at Cambridge)—but scarcely another on "The Fall of Brewster's Patron," Elizabeth's secretary Davison, through her perfidy toward him in the execution of the Queen of Scots. A loving hand and diligent investigation of the original sources of information to the minutest details are apparent throughout the work. Its Appendix gives a family list of the Pilgrim company in Leyden, and of other English people in relations with them—wives, children, and occupations included. Dr. Dexter's draft of the history, rewritten and edited by his son after further researches in England and Holland, now stands in a completeness to which it is likely that little can be added.

Essentials of Spirituality. By Felix Adler. James Pott & Co., New York. $1.
This book will be a surprise to many entirely honest if not altogether unprejudiced readers. We have long known and honored Felix Adler and his work, and yet his book comes, in some aspects, as a surprise to us. He puts on spirituality an estimate which the Society of Ethical Culture has not been supposed to attach to it. Spirituality is no imaginative or emotional enthusiasm. It is the highest sanity. It is not a subsidiary quality which may be added to honesty and benevolence as an agreeable dessert may be added to a substantial dinner. It is superior, not inferior, to those moral qualities which are not inspired by spirituality. "Benevolence, be it never so tender and practical, does not reach the high mark of spirituality. Spirituality is more than benevolence in the ordinary sense of the term." And spirituality is not the privilege of an elect few. It is a possibility for all. To be a prophet or a lawgiver of a nation, or a liberator of one's country, or even a philanthropist on a large scale, is given to but very few; "but to lead the spiritual life is possible to you and to me if we choose to do so." Felix Adler's definition of spirituality seems to us admirable; it includes many types of spirituality, and in this is its value. "Spirituality consists in always keeping in view this supreme end" of life. A beautiful figure both illustrates and emphasizes this definition. "If a river had a consciousness like the human consciousness,

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we might imagine that it hears the murmur of the distant sea from the very moment when it leaves its source, and that the murmur grows clearer and clearer as the river flows on its way, welcoming every tributary it receives as adding to the volume which it will contribute to the sea, rejoicing at every turn and bend in its long course that brings it nearer to its goal. Such is the consciousness of a spiritually minded human being." This goal may be "union with God, the Divine Father; it may be the attainment of Nirvana as the supreme end; it may be moral perfection. But if the end be high and worthy, to keep it constantly in view, and to measure all stages in life's progress by the approach they give to that ultimate end, is to be spiritually minded." We have not space here to follow the author further. But we commend the volume as one of very practical and very genuine spiritual value.

Family on Wheels (The). Adapted from the French by J. MacDonald Oxley. Illustrated. Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., New York. 75c.

A story tender, humorous, pathetic, carrying the charm of the French from which it is adapted, and appealing to any child or adult interested in animals. Four children, a mountebank's orphans, continue their father's business with the remnants of his show—a van, a horse, a dog, and an elephant of almost human intelligence and devotion.

Florence. By Adolf Philippi. Translated from the German by P. G. Konody. Illustrated. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

A translation of Adolf Philippi's "Florenz" has been published in the series of limp-bound volumes on "Famous Art Cities." The excellent text is amply illustrated with interesting process cuts.

Frances and the Irrepressibles at Buena Vista Farm. By Frances Trego Montgomery. Illustrated. The Saalfield Publishing Co., New York. $1.50.

A large company of children, playmates in town, spend their summer at a large farmhouse near Fond du Lac, Wisconsin, where, it seems, only child boarders are taken. The book tells how they entertained themselves.

Heart's Desire. By Emerson Hough. Illustrated. The Macmillan Co., New York. $1.50.

A more vivacious tale of Far Western life one does not often get. There is movement in every chapter, and there is plenty of unconventional talk and genuine fun. Moreover, there is a rather unusually pretty love story with an apparently insoluble tangle, the knot of which is cut in the last chapter in an original and unexpected fashion. Dan Anderson and "Curly" and the other miners and ranchmen of the town of Heart's Desire are very much alive, and their talk and doings amuse and hold the attention throughout.

Hearts' Haven. By Katharine Evans Blake. Illustrated. The Bobbs-Merrill Co., Indianapolis, Ind. $1.50.

A romance of the peculiar colony of Rappites, settled in Pennsylvania, in which natural human instincts overcome the strongest religious vows, mistaken because of their antagonism to true growth. Communistic to the last degree, the followers of George Rapp lived under his leadership—useful, devoted, and fanatical. The author does not make the mistake of painting them too darkly, and our sympathies go out to the disappointed prophet quite as strongly as to the young rebels. The sorrow and suffering certain to follow disregard of the laws of God and nature are depicted with much skill in this quiet romance.

Immanence of God (The). By Borden P. Bowne. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston. $1, net.

Two of Professor Bowne's characteristics are very apparent in this little book, which, by the way, has a great deal more in it than many a larger and more pretentious volume. The first is his ability to see clearly the reality so often hidden behind a voluminous debate about words; the second is his literary knack in so expressing the truth that the non-scholastic reader can understand it. The reality hidden behind the hot debate between the advocates of naturalism and supernaturalism is that there is no difference between the two: all the natural is most supernatural, and all the supernatural is natural. There are not two worlds, there is only one. God does not "come in" to the world at certain times; he *is* in all the time. The false and the true Professor Bowne puts admirably in two sentences, thus: "The undivineness of the natural and the unnaturalness of the divine is the great heresy of popular thought respecting religion." Over against that heresy he puts this truth: "God is the omnipresent ground of all finite existence and activity. The world alike of things and spirits . . . continually depends and is ever upheld by the ever living, ever present, ever working God." This fundamental truth is applied in four chapters to the elucidation of Nature, History, the Bible, and Religion. If Professor Bowne is a heretic, it is because he believes in God too much. His volume is a very sane and a very readable book, at once profound in thought and intelligible in expression.

In and Around Venice. By Horatio F. Brown. Illustrated. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

Occasionally some artist in pen or brush perpetuates better than the rest a particular mood or aspect of the infinitely various beauty of Venice. Shelley and Byron did so, and so did Turner. But, in general, the reproductions do not adequately realize to us the original. For that, Venice must be felt, not reproduced. We are almost glad, therefore, that no illustration accompanies Mr. Brown's text in his latest volume. The text often evokes imagery which no picture would seem quite to satisfy, even though a water-color by Rico or an etching by Whistler. This is not saying, however, that the text is admirable throughout. It is unequal and uneven. But, in general, it is so good that the modest volume should be a companion, not only to the author's "Historical Sketch of Venice" and to his "Life on the Lagoons," but also to such older and better-known

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books as Ruskin's "Stones of Venice," Taine's "Voyage en Italie," and Mr. Howells's "Venetian Life."

Island in the Air (An). By Ernest Ingersoll. Illustrated. The Macmillan Co., New York. $1.50.

Exactly the sort of a narrative to please adventurous boys and girls. The Manning family set out over fifty years ago to found a home in the wilds of Colorado. Their camping and hunting, their disasters and successes, are related with spirit and a kind of homely feeling rare in such stories. The author is well acquainted with wild nature and is a safe guide for his readers.

Italy: Her People and Their Story. By Augusta Hale Gifford. Illustrated. Lothrop, Lee & Shepard Co., Boston. $1.40, net. (Postage, 15c.)

This volume may find popular acceptance because of two salient qualities. First, it presents a compact account of Italy's progress from the age of Romulus to that of the present king. Second, it often conveys to the reader some graphic impression of the varying characteristics of each epoch and reign. As a discriminating writer, however, the author is open to criticism. She assembles strange candidates for apparently equal claims upon posterity, and she sometimes accentuates this by a lavish use of superlatives; hence when a superlative is really needed it does not convey its legitimate meaning.

Jean François Millet. By Richard Muther. Illustrated. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

In this well-printed, well-illustrated, and well-bound little volume we have a compact account of a great painter. If the account somewhat lacks the picturesque phraseology which we find in Mrs. Ady's biography, it has a greater note of authority. Dr. Muther lays special stress on Millet's essential poet-nature as the chief motive in the Millet pictures, rather than that their painter was himself a peasant, or that he regarded the peasants with compassion. Among many criticisms of particular works, the following has interest because of the widespread popularity of the painting mentioned: "It is peculiarly odd that the Angelus, of all pictures, should have acquired the greatest reputation among the master's works; . . . this particular painting must be reckoned, on purely technical grounds, one of Millet's weakest productions."

John Chinaman at Home. By Rev. E. J. Hardy, M.A. Illustrated. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $2.50, net.

The latest addition to the many books on Chinese manners and customs is by the author of "How to be Happy though Married." As will be surmised, therefore, the author's style is extremely readable and vivacious. His book contains a great deal of real information. It shows that the late chaplain to the forces at Hongkong kept his eyes open during the three years and a half of his service, and when, from time to time, he was on leave of absence in China proper. We note that Mr. Hardy does not attempt to solve "the problem of China;" as he says, "that has been done by every writer who has spent two days in Hongkong and one in Canton." Instead of making a like attempt, Mr. Hardy adds to his many interesting chapters on the Chinese themselves one which every foreigner who attempts to judge the Chinese should take to heart. "As the Chinese See Us" comprises timely and forceful hints to the "foreign devils."

Last Chance (The). By Rolf Boldrewood. The Macmillan Co., New York. $1.50.

Mr. Boldrewood is essentially a teller of tales rather than a novelist, and it is in the first direction rather than in the latter that this story of life in Australia and in England will receive attention. In fact, the defects of the book are most evident when the author departs from the depiction of Australian local color and of plot-building in order to attempt the character-drawing and social study which properly belong to an English society novel.

Latin Poets (The): An Anthology. By Nathan Haskell Dole. Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., New York. $2.

This is a desirable companion book to the editor's recent anthology of the Greek poets, especially since an anthology of the Latin poets is much rarer than those of their masters, the Greeks. The selections, chosen from the best translations, include seventeen authors from Plautus to Juvenal, the last in the proper chronological order, though not in the order followed here. The largest space is given to the greatest names. The genius of Horace, the most modern in spirit of them all, hardly seems adequately represented in selections almost wholly from his odes; there is but one, yet a long one, from his satires, none from his epistles, none from his celebrated piece of literary criticism, "The Art of Poetry." It is, however, a charming collection, in which few will miss any favorites.

Life and Works of George Herbert (The). Newly Arranged and Annotated by George Herbert Palmer. In 3 vols. Illustrated. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston. $6, net.

It would be difficult to name any one better adapted to give such an interpretation of the "Life and Works of George Herbert" than Professor Palmer, of Harvard University, who has done his work of biographer and editor *con amore*. The work will receive fuller attention at our hands hereafter.

Life of Reason (The). By George Santayana. Vol. III. **Reason in Religion.** Vol. IV. **Reason in Art.** Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $1 per vol.

The Life of Reason, as conceived by Professor Santayana, progressively approaches ideals of thought and action through the mastering of experience by reason. The general characteristics of his treatment of this theme, as stated in our recent review (May 20) of the preceding volumes of the series, are manifest in those now before us. What is styled reason appears to be mere intellectualism, graceful and keen, and it

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imparts its defect to its ideals. The defect which vitiates the treatment of reason in religion is even more radical, an ignorance of what religion is. Much is said of the gods, little of God; "God" appears to connote no objective reality, but simply one's own ideal divinized. How little Professor Santayana knows of religion by experience appears from his criticism of the Mass and the Communion as exercising "vague Dionysiac influences," from which "it would be purely fanciful to maintain that any permanent moral effect comes"—a statement than which it would be hard to produce anything more contradictory to fact. Hebraism and Christianity alike are subjected to strange misinterpretations. The book of Isaiah, in which any careful reader can see Hebraism universalized in impartiality to every race, refutes the notion that Hebraism selfishly conceived of the moral government of things as directed "for the final glorification of the Jews." As to Christianity, the paganizing it suffered after its alliance with the Roman Empire is said to have "immensely improved" it, because "it is always an improvement in religion, whose business it is to express and inspire spiritual sentiment, that it should learn to express and inspire that sentiment more generously." Professor Santayana, clearly a pagan, does ample justice to the best side of paganism. On the subject of reason in art he speaks of what he understands, and more instructively. Taken separately, the various branches of art are in general felicitously discussed. As to the primary purpose of art there is vacillation. Against the statement that the fine arts "express moral and political greatness, and serve to enhance it," stands the dictum that "the value of art lies in making people happy." The tendency is to a materialistic view, which is strongly expressed in saying that "reason . . . is grounded on an animal nature, and has no other function than to serve the same." Seldom has a materialistic philosophy been presented in finer literary garb than in this series of volumes, or with stranger contradictions of experiential facts; *e. g.*, "No religion has ever given a picture of deity which men could have imitated without the grossest immorality."

Nedra. By George Barr McCutcheon. Illustrated. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York. $1.50.

The readers of "Beverly of Graustark" will doubtless be eager to compare this book with its popular predecessors from Mr. McCutcheon's pen. The story is lively, entertaining, and very improbable. The first half is specially readable; the last, based upon a situation not at all new, is a disappointment.

Paradise. By Alice Brown. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston. $1.50.

The reader of American fiction has come to rely upon this author for thoroughly artistic handling of her material and for true character-depiction. The present story is not quite as ambitious to fill the place of a fully rounded-out novel as some of its predecessors, but it is perhaps none the less acceptable for that reason. Here, in a little story of country life and country character, we have at least five personalities clearly and entertainingly sketched, with a story of love, disappointment, and sacrifice, at times poignant in its depth of feeling, but nevertheless always treated with an underlying sense of humor. The fact that almost all of the characters are quaint and in a gentle way queer may perhaps seem to some a detraction from the quality of the book.

Patricia: A Mother. By "Iota." D. Appleton & Co., New York. $1.50.

There is considerable strength in this novel, of which maternal love is the ruling motive. Two phases of this love are contrasted—the selfish, indulgent love that debases its object and the strong love which seeks at any cost to upbuild character. There is some lack of artistic proportion in the general working out of the story; the virulence and uncharitableness of country town gossip are possibly overdone; and the reader is sometimes inclined to think that the lovely Patricia would have had fewer troubles if she had always exercised common sense. The story is laid in England.

Patty in the City. By Carolyn Wells. Illustrated. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York. $1.25.

There is something refined, fresh, and practical about Miss Wells's stories for girls, and readers who met Patty Fairfield when she was keeping house for her father in a suburban town will be interested to know how Patty meets the conditions of life in New York, where she resides in an apartment overlooking Central Park, attends a fashionable school, makes new friends, and keeps her old ones.

Prophetic Element in the Old Testament (The). By William Rainey Harper. (Constructive Bible Studies College Series.) The University of Chicago Press, Chicago. $1.

This is the needed complement to Dr. Harper's work on "The Priestly Element." Part I., here published, concluding with Hosea, is soon to be followed by Part II. The breadth of conception and range of material which it presents far exceed the current view of the subject. The prophetic element, as the scholar views it, is found in every period of Biblical history, appearing before the appearance of prophets recognized as such. These studies are so planned as to encourage the student to think for himself, and to base his thinking on Biblical rather than on second-hand material. The various views that may be taken of mooted points are impartially presented to the student's judgment, together with adequate references to the literature of the subject. This valuable work inspires an anxious wish that the fruitful life of its author may long be spared.

Purple and Fine Linen. By Emily Post. D. Appleton & Co., New York. $1.50.

Long ago it was known that the life is more than meat, and the body than raiment; but there are still many lives in which this truth

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has not taken root. With so serious a purpose, this gay little story of fashionable New York is written. A perfectly well considered and suitable marriage comes near shipwreck because, as one of the characters remarks, husbands and wives are drawn together much more by what they have to do without than by all the things they have. These two had everything, and came near missing both honor and happiness. There is some clever characterization of modern society, and several individuals stand out clearly as real people.

Red Chief (The). By Everett T. Tomlinson. Illustrated. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston. $1.50.

A recital of the adventurous couriers sent with messages from Cherry Valley during the Revolution. It begins with a council of the Six Nations and ends with the Cherry Valley Massacre. Brant, the Red Chief, appears incidentally once or twice. As a story the book lacks point, consecutiveness, unity; historically it may have some value.

Rejuvenation of Aunt Mary (The). By Anne Warner. Little, Brown & Co., New York. $1.50.

Miss Warner's previous book, "Susan Clegg and her Friend Mrs. Lathrop," was full of real humor and good character delineation. In this story, however, she has only succeeded in producing a broad farce. The spectacle of an old lady of seventy, nearly stone deaf, on her first visit to the city under the tutelage of a scapegrace nephew, and plunging into the gayeties of the town with abandon, is neither edifying nor convincing.

Rollo Books (The). By Jacob Abbott. **Rollo Learning to Talk. Rollo Learning to Read. Rollo at Work. Rollo at Play. Rollo at School. Rollo's Vacation. Rollo's Experiments. Rollo's Museum. Rollo's Travels. Rollo's Correspondence. Rollo's Philosophy—Water. Rollo's Philosophy—Air. Rollo's Philosophy—Fire. Rollo's Philosophy—Sky.** Illustrated. Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., New York. Per vol., 50c.

The reviewer is a little amused on seeing on the title-pages of this edition of the Rollo Books the phrase, "A New Edition, Revised by the Author," in view of the fact that the author has been dead for a quarter of a century. It may be added, however, that the books are printed on good paper and are well bound. Many people of middle age who enjoyed the Rollo Books when they were children may be pleased to have the series in this form for their own children. It is true that the taste in juvenile literature has changed somewhat since these books were written; but that there is still a demand for them shows that they have qualities that make them pleasing as well as instructive to young people, apart from any question as to the time at which they were written.

Saint Abigail of the Pines. By William Allen Knight. The Pilgrim Press, Boston. $1.

A tender, poetic story of the New England coast and of seafaring folk; of a great wrong and deep repentance; of a voyage on a whaling-ship and struggles with monsters of the deep, in description so graphic that it seems, as it purports to be, the utterance of one who took active part.

St. Cuthbert's. By Robert E. Knowles. The Fleming H. Revell Co., New York. $1.50.

The pastor of a large Presbyterian church in Canada gives here in semi-romantic form the story of his parish. Most of his characters speak Scotch dialect. The book is not without passages rich in humor and pathos, but it is too didactic, and in some particulars lacks the restraint which many readers would naturally expect of a clerical pen.

Select Notes. A Commentary on the International Sunday-School Lessons. By Rev. F. N. Peloubet, D.D. The W. A. Wilde Co., Boston. $1.25.

Dr. Peloubet's annual volumes, adapted to all grades of Sunday-school teaching, have long been known, looked for, and welcomed. As an illustrated commentary, designed for an edifying and non-critical treatment of selected fragments of the Bible, they are unexcelled. But is it quite fair, as in the lesson on "Jesus on the Cross," to turn a Unitarian minister's friendly criticism upon Unitarian preaching into a polemic thrust? Apart from this the work is free from sectarianism.

Starvecrow Farm. By Stanley J. Weyman. Longmans, Green & Co., New York. $1.50.

Mr. Weyman, whose first novels of French life and adventure set the fashion for a flood of "swashbuckling" romances, and set a standard attained by few of his imitators, needs no recommendation as a story-teller. But a story-teller, even the best, has no right systematically to outrage the feelings and sympathies of his readers. Mr. Weyman in this book subjects his heroine, a dainty, refined young girl, to ill-treatment, ranging from mere insult to downright brutality, at the hands of every character in the book, with one insignificant exception. Such a literary impropriety is unworthy of his art.

Sunrise Acres. By Benjamin Brace. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York. $1.50.

A situation improbable to the verge of being fantastic is worked out with cleverness and humor in the first half of this novel; the last half is not so good, is rather tedious, and exhibits a strained effort after some of the features which made "David Harum" popular.

Time, the Comedian. By Kate Jordan. D. Appleton & Co., New York. $1.50.

A bright, entertaining society novel, not without a moral for light, frivolous, and selfish people of both sexes. The scenes are laid in Paris and New York and a suburban town near the latter, but too far from it to suit the convenience of the wife of a New Yorker whose business exigencies compel his residence there.

Tales of the Fish Patrol. By Jack London. Illustrated. The Macmillan Co., New York. $1.50.

The broad bays about San Francisco, and the rivers that run into them, are great sources of revenue to fishermen of several diverse nationalities—Chinese, Italians, and Greeks.

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The life of the fish patrol, whose duty it is to enforce the fishing laws, furnishes plenty of opportunities for adventures, exciting and often dangerous. The stories in this volume describe some of these adventures simply but dramatically. It is ostensibly a book for boys, but it is good reading for others as well.

True Story of Paul Revere (The). By Charles Ferris Gettemy. Illustrated. Little, Brown & Co., Boston. $1.50, net. (Postage, 15c.)

In this accurate and entertaining record Revere, if stripped of some idealization engendered by Longfellow's beautiful poem, is shown to have been a useful, active citizen, and a patriotic messenger on more occasions than that of which Longfellow wrote. He was an engraver, cartoonist, coppersmith, and a progressive, public-spirited man of business. The book shows scholarly work, and is of value historically apart from its narrative of Paul Revere.

Vital Questions. By Henry Dwight Chapin, M.D. Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., New York. $1, net. (Postage, 10c.)

On such questions none is supposed more competent to speak, or is more attentively heard, than one whose daily practice as a physician obliges him to study them. Of various kinds, sociological, physiological, educational, religious, they are here discussed in the light of wide experience, and in a lucid, judicious, and practically helpful way. Dr. Chapin predicts truly that "advanced sociology will devote its principal energies to avoiding the production of the unfit, and then by proper isolation see to it that they do not survive beyond one generation." He is right also in telling the churches that they have vacated and should resume their place of moral leadership. They dogmatize too much, he says, on man's relations to God, while they neglect man's relations to man, and this is a main cause of the loss of faith to-day; for "faith will be kept alive not by analysis and reasoning, but by living for others." Dr. Chapin's book is a valuable help to the thoughtful living which is the proper basis both of the simple and the strenuous life.

Wanderer in Holland (A). By E. V. Lucas. Illustrated. The Macmillan Co., New York. $1.75, net.

Mr. Lucas exactly expresses in his title his attitude toward his subject. He altogether renounces any attempt to be "informing" or authoritative, but wanders pleasantly from beaten paths in writing as in traveling, with a literary result abounding in charm and atmosphere. His personal impressions are of customs and peculiarities rather than of dry detail or statistics, and their relation gives play to a pleasant imaginative and discursive style. In short, the book is notable among books of travel and description for its readable qualities and discriminating and individual taste. The plan of illustration is admirable; it includes twenty views in color and a larger number of reproductions in photograph of the pictures of Dutch painters.

When the Song Begins. By J. R. Miller. Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., New York. 65c., net.

A new book may be looked for from Dr. Miller every year. The world needs religion set forth in terms of conduct, "living epistles." This is Dr. Miller's aim. To look upon the world, its opportunities, its burdens, its discipline, with the mind of Christ, is the teaching of this volume, the first of whose short chapters gives its title to the series.

Where Copper Was King. By James North Wright. Small, Maynard & Co., Boston. $1.50.

A laudable and conscientious attempt to preserve the elements of romance and heroism which no doubt marked the early days of the discovery of copper in the wild regions about Lake Superior. The author has not the gift of imaginative writing to a great degree, but tells a straightforward story of actual happenings, lightened by descriptions of noble scenery.

With Spurs of Gold. By Frances Nimmo Greene and Dolly Williams Kirk. Illustrated. Little, Brown & Co., Boston. $1.50.

With a brief historical introduction, the fascinating old legends of knighthood are told once more for young readers. Roland and Oliver, The Cid, Godfrey de Bouillon, Richard Cœur de Lion, The Chevalier Bayard, and Sir Philip Sidney pass in noble array. A number of famous poems accompany the excellent prose in which these tales are set.

With the Empress Dowager. By Katharine A. Carl. The Century Co., New York. $2, net.

From this book the reader obtains a graphic idea of the Chinese Empress Dowager. The author is an artist as well as a writer. She has painted four portraits of the Empress, one of them for the St. Louis Exposition. Before all this work was over, an appreciation of the Empress's habits and character was obtained, so different from that generally held as abundantly to warrant the publication of the present volume. Miss Carl was a guest in the Empress's palace for nearly a year, and thus enjoys the distinction of "breaking the record" as to foreign sojourns in the palace of a Chinese sovereign, for it is said that during the centuries which have elapsed since Marco Polo's time no foreigner has ever enjoyed such a privilege. This opportunity was obtained for Miss Carl through the influence of Mrs. Conger, wife of the American Minister. It is believed that the present volume contains the first accurate and satisfactory information concerning the personal appearance and characteristics of an interesting imperial personage. But to the author she was more than interesting. Miss Carl says: "I found her Majesty by far the most fascinating personality it has ever been my good fortune to study at such close range."

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Correspondence

An Experiment in Industrial Education

To the Editors of The Outlook:

An experiment at Dublin, New Hampshire, this summer was suggested by a paper which Charles Eliot Norton published giving an account of summer work at Ashfield, Massachusetts. If good things could be done in Ashfield, Massachusetts, why not in Dublin, New Hampshire? So we announced an Arts and Crafts School to be held twice a week in the Town Hall. We offered sloyd, sewing, embroidery, clay modeling, singing, drawing, and pillow lace, and there was prompt response from all the children of the town, including many of the summer visitors. The teaching was done mainly by summer residents, and was voluntary, but we paid a small sum for the help of two experts.

We count these among the results:

1. Summer and winter children were thrown together, and established friendly relations, and so did many of their parents.

2. Many children came from far, and this suggests that it will be possible for the town to have one large, strong school in the winter, instead of four or five very small district schools.

3. At the outset public sentiment was against industrial training. Now it favors it, and it will probably be introduced into the public schools. Neighboring towns have heard of our experiment and are moving in the same direction.

4. Some idea of handicraft was implanted in the minds of the boys and girls, and a new outlook given to them.

Perhaps some day our American people will be noted for skill in forms of hand-work, as the Swiss are for carving or the Persians for rug-making. Now we only know how to run machines. R. RIDNER.

Boston, Massachusetts.

A Correction

To the Editors of The Outlook:

Will you kindly insert in an early issue of The Outlook the following correction of an article entitled "The Wild Animal in Art," which appeared in your magazine of September 23, 1905, and greatly oblige the undersigned?

My sojourn abroad of twelve years was spent in Paris—nine years being devoted almost exclusively to the study of wild animals, the feline in particular; in drawing, painting, and modeling from them, at the Jardin des Plantes under M. Emanuel Frémiet, and in private manageries. The first recognition received as a specialist of the feline was in 1901, from the New York Zoölogical Society, to execute all the sculpture decorations for the new lion house in the New York Zoölogical Park, Bronx. The sculpture consists of four sentinel lions (in marble), two pediments (in stone), two pediments (in terra-cotta), six large heads (in stone), and forty large heads with ornament (in terra-cotta) for the cornice. To complete this work two and one-half years were required. ELI HARVEY.

With the Tennessee Coal-Miners

To the Editors of The Outlook:

There are over fifteen thousand men engaged in the mining industry of Tennessee. Practically no religious or educational work is undertaken for the men in the mining camps of the State. In response to this need the Young Men's Christian Association has entered the coal fields at Petros, Tennessee, to help the hundreds of men who dig coal in the Big Brushy Mountain. Big Brushy is a part of the Cumberland system in East Tennessee. This camp is located seventy-five miles west of the city of Knoxville. The coal company has provided the Young Men's Christian Association with a building which is divided into a reading-room, auditorium, gymnasium, and bath-room. The Association now has to raise funds with which to carry on the work.

Governor John I. Cox, of Tennessee, delivered the chief address at the initial meeting of this Association a few weeks since. He made a strong practical talk on the making of manly men, which was well received by the miners. Governor Cox proceeded to show his faith by his works, and headed a list with a subscription to the Miners' Young Men's Christian Association. The need of helping men spiritually, intellectually, and physically at the coal mines is a great undertaking, with many discouragements in the way; but the workers believe their efforts are owned and blessed of God, and they go forward trusting in his promises.

Those who work in the mines are all Americans, most of whom are young. The monotony of the daily toil makes it necessary for them to have recreation during their leisure hours. They are compelled, in most cases, to get this in undesirable surroundings. The Young Men's Christian Association comes to these young men in a practical way to help them to live a manly life and to touch their lives personally for Christ.

Efforts are now being made to raise funds with which to equip the Miners' Young Men's Christian Association. This special work among the miners is dependent upon voluntary contributions. Small or large amounts will be gratefully received and wisely expended. Friends of the Association can be of great assistance by helping to furnish the different rooms, and thus make them as bright and cheery as possible. Contributions may be sent to the Secretary, Miners' Young Men's Christian Association, Petros, Tennessee, who will acknowledge the same,

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and answer all inquiries as to the work and its needs. * *

The Greek Church

To the Editors of The Outlook:

When a man does so good a piece of work as the article of September 16 entitled "The Russo-Greek Church," it seems a pity to pick flaws in any part of it; and yet, for the sake of exact history, I had hoped to see it done by some one more competent than myself in regard to at least one of the facts on which the author bases his interesting contrast between the Roman and the Greek Church. The whole thing is both timely and suggestively true, but the strength of the argument is not increased by his unfortunate introduction of the Nicene Creed as "antedating 'the Apostles' Creed' by centuries." This is not true, and has the sound of some of the exaggerated statements of recent insurance "experts" rather than that of a close observer and accurate historian. It is, in the first place, scarcely wise to try to put the Nicene Creed forward as the creed of the East in contrast to the Apostles' as the creed of the West, for the Nicene is distinctively the authoritative expression of the whole undivided Church, and the influence of Rome in its establishment (to say the least) was not less than that of the East. Furthermore, it is not to be unqualifiedly dated "A.D. 325," for, so far as known, it had no existence as it stands to-day before, say, 363, and its first promulgation as the creed of Christianity was at Chalcedon in 451. Such names as Stanley and Harnack can be used as authorities for asserting that the present Nicene Creed of Greek, Roman, Anglican, and other churches is not even an enlarged form of the creed of A.D. 325, but was the work of a period covering three General Councils, those of A.D. 381, 431, and 451—not taking its present place in the Church much before the year 500, if then.

Now, the general agreement is that the present form of the Apostles' Creed was known and used about the same time, and that it goes back in all fundamental respects to the middle of the second century, and is therefore the oldest creed of Christendom. Professor A. C. McGiffert says: "The present form is simply an expansion of a briefer creed which dates from a much earlier period and is commonly known among scholars as the Old Roman Symbol," which "must have originated in the third quarter of the second century." He is not as decisive as Professor A. V. G. Allen in making the Old Roman Symbol and the Apostles' Creed one and the same, arising "as a protest against Gnosticism" ("Continuity of Christian Thought," p. 112); but his practical conclusion is in agreement. It is as much within reason thus to date the Apostles' Creed as to call that the Constitution of the United States which began in 1789, but received various amendments up to the year 1870. Is it not one and the same Constitution all through? and is the Apostles' Creed not one and the same from the present to the sixth century, and from then to at least the year 175?

If this is so, the question of "antedating" will have to be left out when one is attempting to put the Russo-Greek Church in the right light. The Apostles' Creed in its present form is practically as old as the Nicene Creed in its present form, even with the *filioque* left out. Were one to trace the Nicene Creed back through that of Cæsarea or of Jerusalem, of which it is doubtless the legitimate successor and descendant, the point of relative ages would still be left unsettled, though the weight of evidence would probably remain on the side of the Apostles' Creed. It is interesting, in this connection, to know that in recent lectures Professor A. V. G. Allen has expressed his opinion that the Old Roman Symbol, or Apostles' Creed, is itself of Eastern origin, antedating the earliest date yet given it. This might help Mr. Griffis to claim both the Nicene and Apostles' Creeds for the Eastern Church, but it would be fairer and more historical to overlook differences of age in Churches that are equally Apostolic in origin.

As an Anglican Churchman the writer of this may rejoice that the light of better information given out by Mr. Griffis will do much to remove the shadow of suspicion hitherto resting on the Russian Church, as a possible ally of the English and American Episcopal Churches. Many of us had suspected, incited thereto by frequent dark pictures of affairs ecclesiastical in Russia, that union was worse than an "iridescent dream;" but this later and more favorable sketch puts it among the not far-off possibilities that both Anglican and Greek Churches may not only yet come to know one another better, but also come to know and practice pure Christianity in such a manner as to cause the whole world, East and West, including even Rome (its once reputed center), to come and say, "We will go with you, for we have heard that God is with you." If such articles as "The Russo-Greek Church" help toward this end, then they will have praise enough, and the world's peace will be nigh at hand.

JAMES SHEERIN.

Clinton, Massachusetts.

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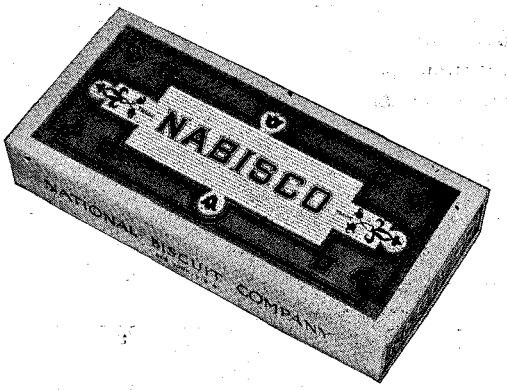

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